A study of Scotland's Highland games: traditional sport and musical competition in the twenty-first century

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

Signature .....

ABSTRACT

Highland games play a unique cultural role in Scotland, as a platform for indigenous sporting competition, traditional music and dance. There has been very little academic attention paid to Highland games and this is a first attempt to capture a detailed account of multiple events across Scotland. Organised by volunteers and operating the events on a not-for-profit basis, the majority of Highland games are self-sustaining, relying on the ingenuity of committee members' commitment. The political forces in Scotland do not appear to acknowledge or understand the importance of Highland games to communities; or the social, cultural and economic benefits they create, whilst contributing substantially to Scotland's event and tourism industries. Key themes within the research objectives are volunteer organisers, sport, events, tourism and culture with social capital theory underpinning the study.

The study adopts a mixed methods approach with three phases of data collection. An initial search identified 95 Highland games in Scotland which provided the context and knowledge base from 50 returned surveys. A second survey was conducted with audience members (n=1316) with the third data set collected from interviews with organisers and experts (n=16).

The results reveal that Highland games operate in a very fragile financial environment with little support from central government or national tourism and event organisations. The events are well supported by domestic, UK and international visitors and tourists appealing to all age groups, encompassing family and adult social groups while transcending social and cultural diversity. There is evidence of repeat visitation by audience members and competitors to single and multiple events, furthermore, the evidence of bonding and bridging social capital is conclusive within the organising groups and spectators. This study confirms that Highland games collectively contribute to event tourism bringing social and economic benefits to Scotland and could be a key feature of Scotland's international event and tourism strategies.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGM	Annual General Meeting
DCMS	Department of Culture Media and Sport
HIE	Highlands and Islands Enterprise
IVR	Institute for Volunteering Research
MSP	Member of the Scottish Parliament
SGA	Scottish Games Association
SHGA	Scottish Highland Games Association
SNP	Scottish National Party
SPSS	Statistical package for social sciences
TIC	Visitor Information Centre
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
VFR	Visiting friends and relatives

1 Introduction

Highland games are staged annually in Scotland and are competitive events. The cultural themes of music and indigenous sport performed by Highland dancers, pipe bands and heavy event athletes portray images synonymous with Scotland, to the rest of the world. Images of Highland games are often used to represent Scotland in promotional literature and, on occasion, incorporated into media advertising campaigns. Images of Highland dancers and pipe bands wearing national dress are often presented alongside kilt wearing heavy event athletes throwing the caber on international promotional literature.

Highland dancing and heavy event competitions are not frequently seen beyond the Highland games environment aside from the regular competitions frequented by the practitioners of Highland dancing. The elusiveness of these traditional events heightens the appeal of Highland games for visitors and tourists, notwithstanding the majority of the events are not-for-profit ventures set within local communities and staged by volunteers. Currently there are in the region of 95 Highland games held annually in Scotland.

Some competitive activity of contemporary Highland games is thought to have derived from agrarian workers' competing against each other using tools and implements found in the rural environment (Jarvie, 1991). Additional elements are considered to have emerged from soldiers' proclivity for celebration and competitive pursuits around battlefield activity when individuals would compete in running races and trials of strength for kings, or dance after victorious battles (Webster, 2011). The musical element is thought to have transpired from the tradition of musicians playing bagpipes for Clan chiefs and piping for dancing competitions. When Clansmen came together at ancient Highland gatherings, competitive activity was commonplace when men competed in foot races, dancing, musical contests and trials of strength, activities thought to be the forerunner of contemporary events (Brander, 1992). While historical records document individual competitive athletic events from around 1058, contemporary events are thought to have evolved from a celebration held at

Ceres, Fife, in 1314 after the Battle of Bannockburn when Robert the Bruce led the Scots in a victorious battle against the English king (Webster, 2011).

The earliest records of multiple events taking place across Scotland originate from the early 1800s (Brewster et al., 2009; Jarvie, 1991), when local communities would organise events for entertainment and where competitors could showcase athletic prowess, skills and dexterity. The number of annual events fluctuates over time with Colquhoun and Machell (1927) recording 58 events in 1926 whereas Lothian (2001) identified more than 200 events and Ross (2011) proposed numbers were reducing in 2011. Even today, the number of events staged annually continues to fluctuate. Easier travelling and improved rail networks stimulated travel in the nineteenth century (Hughes, 1991; Lynch, 1996; Tranter, 1987) popularising the Highlands when increasing numbers of English tourist travelled to the Highlands fuelled by the fashionable interest in the rugged and wild landscape (Butler, 1985). The opportunity to promote a culturally visible spectacle for the growing interest in indigenous tourism and cultural events (Whitford and Ruhanen, 2013) was presented through dancers and pipers wearing Scottish national dress[1] (Webster, 1973). Although the events became more accessible to tourists and day trippers, the ethos of contemporary Highland games continues to focus on local communities and the traditional core content of Highland dancing, pipers and athletes. The cultural and indigenous aspect may be increasingly popular to international and cultural tourists although visual culture has always been present and is not a modern day invention incorporated in an attempt to increase visitor numbers. As historical documentation informs the core competitive activity of athletics, music and dance remains largely unchanged (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927),

The evolution of competitive elements of Highland games from such diverse activities as athletics, music and dance has resulted in the evolution of globally recognised symbolically vibrant events. Highland games are multifarious in content with traditional activities taking place in conjunction with a variety of miscellaneous trade stands (Chhabra, 2004), novelty events, ancillary entertainment and in some instances, Clan Association activity.

[1] Scottish national dress incorporates tartan kilts as formal attire

Yet, despite the significance of Highland games as a cultural and sporting activity with an indeterminate history, academic study of these events remains limited. This original and unique study will form a distinct contribution to the knowledge base of Highland games in Scotland. The key protagonists in the study are the organisers of events and the spectators. The study is underpinned with social capital theory incorporating and relating to individuals and group organisations. The focus on structures, political influences and economic issues provides an overarching theme, which is particularly germane to the sustainability of Highland games. Highland games amalgamate events, sport, culture and tourism and act as a platform for social integration associated with the creation of social capital. Most historical documentation indicates the events were predominately set within a rural environment, although modern events can also be found in urban areas. Although not all contemporary events operate within a rural environment, the connection with their rural heritage is preserved through the competitive elements. Like many rural events Highland games are centred on entertainment, spectacle, ritual and remembrance that bring people together to re-unite family and friends (Brander, 1992; Jarvie, 2003b; Gibson, Connell, Waitt and Walmsley, 2011).

1.1 The importance of Highland games

In the twenty-first century the importance of Highland games is paramount to communities throughout Scotland. Firstly, the games have an essential function in sustaining indigenous sport and traditional Highland culture. Secondly, unique cultural attributes are a distinctive selling point for destinations and, within an increasingly competitive events market the games are an asset for promotional activity (Whitford and Ruhanen, 2013). Thirdly, Scottish culture has a role to play in motivating individuals with Scottish ancestry to travel or return to Scotland (Durie, 2013; Ray and McCain, 2009; Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2012) and individuals seeking to celebrate their Scottish heritage can find an authentic cultural experience at Highland games. Fourthly, these events provide leisure opportunities for spectators and an outlet for physical activity which is increasingly important in a country where rising obesity and diabetes is of some concern (Webster, 2011). Many of the events have competitive activities for children (running races and Highland dancing) alongside adult

competition that provides a unique outlet for sporting and cultural competition. Finally, the games are exceptionally accessible throughout the peak tourism summer period when events are held between May and September (www.albagames.co.uk) attracting local residents as well as domestic and international tourists. Highland games have many strands and it would be difficult to incorporate all elements within a single study, therefore this research is designed to capture data from the organisers and event audiences.

1.2 Why Highland games?

There has been very little academic activity on small and medium-sized community events such as Highland games. The Scottish Government commissioned a report into minority indigenous sports in Scotland and erroneously placed Highland games within this category, not because of the indigenous sport, but for the reason that Highland games were considered a minority sport. One could ask which sport. There are a number of different competitive sporting activities within Highland games therefore Highland games cannot be considered as a single sporting event. Some events have conducted studies for their own purposes although there is a distinct lack of academic literature pertaining specifically to Highland games. Literature associated with Highland games has been inclined to focus on particular events, or a specific feature such as athletes, sporting content or social contribution.

While Highland games may generate some touristic activity they do not feature in the Scottish government's tourism or event strategies. Conversely, there is an increasing interest in genealogy and Scottish ancestry which is recognised and promoted by official tourism bodies such as VisitScotland (VisitScotland, 2014). For individuals with a genealogical interest (Durie, 2013; Ray and McCain, 2009; Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2012) the recognised symbols of Scottishness on display at Highland games is a unique selling point for tourism organisations. Although Highland games are largely unrecognised by the Scottish government there appeared to be no hesitation incorporating images of Highland games into promotional material for a Clan Gathering event in

Edinburgh during Homecoming 2009. The themed year of Homecoming was repeated in 2014, once more reaching out to the Scottish diaspora.
It is estimated there are 50 million people claiming Scottish ancestry who are living outside Scotland potentially worth £2.4 billion to the Scottish economy (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2012) if the rising interest in ancestral and genealogy tourism transpires. With the increased appeal of ancestral tourism (Durie, 2013; VisitScotland, 2014) and links to Clans, Highland games have latent potential to appeal to Scottish diasporas through international promotion.

The majority of Highland games continue to be operated by volunteers on a not-for-profit basis rather than as commercial enterprises and are deemed a success if enough revenue is generated to invest in the event and stage the following year. Some profit may be distributed to local charities and invested in reserve funds to sustain the events in case of inclement weather conditions, or other problems that may prevent the event being held in future years. As an outdoor event susceptible to inclement weather conditions (Light, 1995; Jarvie, 2006) Highland games can suffer quite badly through cancellations, particularly the weather dependent competitions or full cancellation of the event. When this occurs finances can be lost with no way to recuperate monies other than through public sector assistance, sponsorship or support from patrons and other revenue streams. Organisers face challenges in many forms as increasing legislative obligations may impact on the viability of events, especially when political changes are introduced by successive governments that may require financial input such as permits, licenses or adherence to health and safety regulations (Jamieson, 2014; The Courier, 2013; The Scotsman, 2008).

While Highland games are often unassuming in their delivery the organisers are stalwart in their endeavours and have a sense of pride and loyalty connected to the events (Brander, 1992). As a unique Scottish cultural spectacle there is a need to undertake academic research on Highland games to increase current knowledge and chronicle their importance within a community context. Based on the potential these events have to contribute to wider event and tourism strategies and the, as yet, untapped ancestral tourist market, their importance is not featured highly by politicians, the Scottish government or national tourism and event organisations.

Every Highland games event is unique in content, appeal and location and from a cultural perspective each event has its own variation of competitive activity and format (Brander, 1992; Gibson, 1882), offering unique experiences in time and space. Predominantly community based events with cultural and sporting connotations Highland games provide a spectacle of excitement and competition whilst sustaining cultural and indigenous sporting traditions (Getz, 1997). In the Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland, Highland games are described to:

> *…incorporate feats of strength and agility that were practised in the Highlands, no doubt from very early times, but their formal organisation and annual occurrence in many places in Scotland (and a number elsewhere in the world) seems to have begun about 1820, as part of the romantic revival of Highlandism and tartanry encouraged by Sir Walter Scott and King George IV.*
>
> (Keay, 1994: 515)

A simpler explanation encapsulating key themes of sport, music and dance is given by the Oxford Dictionary of English 3rd edition (2010: 826) when they are described as *'a meeting for athletic events, playing of the bagpipes, and dancing, held in the Scottish Highlands or by Scots elsewhere.'* The problem with this definition is that it excludes reference to others interested in Scottish culture.

For those less familiar with Highland games activities, the Oxford Companion to Scottish History (2001: 290) describes the events as:

> *The Scottish Highland games have not only been a traditional facet of Scotland's sporting history but they have also evoked and presented to the rest of the world a particular image of Scotland that is closely associated with the traditional organised Highland gatherings… That image is bound up with kilted athletes and dancers, the skirl of the pipes, local and in some cases royal patronage, the distinct subculture of the heavies and the sense of bonhomie.*
>
> Oxford Companion to Scottish History (2001)

This description includes reference to the core themes and competitive activity found at the events alongside the significance of the visual imagery and activities encompassing Highland games. The inference is that it is not just

about the activities but also the cheerful, friendly environment in which they are held.

Although there is a lack of research studies a considerable amount of general literature has been written about Highland games in Scotland where there is a penchant for reviewing specific events, a regional focus, feats of individual athletic prowess or the narrative is framed within some form of historical or social setting.

Webster (1973, 2011) provides the most informative account of Highland games recounting the history and evolution of the events and key competitive activities; he makes some mention of individual events alongside reference to specific Scottish and international sporting champions. Other noteworthy authors from a social science and sporting or nationalistic content are Jackson (1998), Jarvie (1991, 1999) and Tranter (1987; 1998), athletic activities and the achievement of athletes (Allan, 1974; Davidson, 2009; Donaldson, 1901; McCombie Smith, 1891), specific events (Airth Highland Games, 1984; Grant, 1999; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; McIntosh, 2008; Zarnowski,2005), regional events (Knox, 2003), organising committees (Reynolds, 2011) and from a more general perspective by Brander (1992), Grant (1961) and Macdonell (1937).

There has been a higher level of academic activity in events staged outside Scotland, instigated by Scottish migrants forming Caledonian Clubs, Highland Societies and other Scottish related Clubs and Associations. Evidence of scholarly activity in the USA is presented by authors such as Chhabra, Healy and Sills (2003), Chhabra, Sills and Cubbage (2003), Crane, Hamilton and Wilson (2004), Donaldson (1986) and Ray (2001). Whereas Redmond (1982) explores Highland games in Canada and more recently, Ruting and Li (2011) conducted research at an event in Australia. A New Zealand event was the focus for Patterson (2012) and comprehensive research by Bueltmann (2010) chronicled the evolution of Highland games up to 1915 in New Zealand. Based on recent studies it appears that Highland games staged outside Scotland continue to hold heightened appeal as an area of academic interest. This study will, in some part, redress the negligence of scholarly activity at Scottish events through undertaking three stages of primary data collection with organisers and audiences across multiple Scottish events.

Accordingly, this thesis presents an empirical study based on exploring the neglected phenomenon of Highland games and sets out to explore a selection of annual events in Scotland. The study starts from the premise that events do not occur in isolation, success is dependent on the organisers' capacity to stage an attractive event that spectators choose to attend as a leisure consumption experience. Organisers, spectators, and competitors have variant perspectives; organisers want to attract enough spectators and competitors to ensure the event's sustainability whilst simultaneously preserving Scottish traditions. The spectators' desire entertainment and the competitors have a desire to compete for financial rewards or prestige when competing at élite events. Exploring the events from the disparate perspectives of organisers and spectators will present original evidence hitherto unexplored relative to Scotland's Highland games.

The key recurring themes central to the study relate to events, sport, tourism, community and social capital as the theoretical foundation. As an area of study events have been well researched although there has been a focus on single large-scale events (Ziakas, 2013) economic impacts (Forest, 2012; Gursoy et al., 2004) with little importance afforded to indigenous events (Mair and Whitford, 2013) or smaller community events. There is a preoccupation with economic impacts rather than culture or heritage (Ryan, 2012) even although small cultural events are an important tourism resource (Timothy, 2011).

Increasingly, sports events and tourism are emerging as an area of interest together with the connection between sport and social capital. Political stakeholders have a tendency to invest in sports events related to tourism activity as part of wider event and tourism strategies. However, such investment is often restricted to one-off major or mega events that demand high media attention and frequently drives academic research. Over the past decade twenty-five individual Highland games have ceased to exist and when sixty events generated more than £20 million through attracting 150,000 spectators (Ross, 2011), there is an opportunity to capitalise on an already existing commodity.

Whilst this study may appear to bear some resemblance to previous research on events, sport and tourism there are some key differences that set it apart. Highland games are community events led by volunteers both of which are

lacking academic inquiry. The research is conducted in three distinct phases with organisers and spectators across multiple events in order to present a national study. There has been negligible primary data collected at Highland games which places this study at the forefront of Highland games research in Scotland. Finally, as an unknown entity, there is some uncertainty regarding the ability of community-based events to contribute to event tourism or to be part of wider event tourism strategies. A single Highland games event may not be able to contribute substantially to event tourism. However, collectively, the approximate 95 annual Highland games may play a significant part in sustaining Scottish culture and indigenous sports. The community focus and connection with sport are central to the events therefore following a number of sports related studies the principles of social capital theory are a fitting theoretical foundation.

On completion, this research project will contribute to academic literature associated with community events, volunteer organisers, sport and event tourism and social capital theory relating to community, networks and sports events. The study will create a knowledge base for future Highland games research. Exploring the events from disparate perspectives provides fundamental evidence of importance to communities and the potential to contribute to national event and tourism strategies.

1.3 The research study

This research study includes scoping the extent and structure of current events, exploring for evidence of event tourism, the search for social capital creation and the organising committees' commitment to preserve the events. As with similar event themed studies conducted by Darcy, Maxwell, Edwards, Onyx and Sherker, (2014), Harris (1998), Jarvie (2003), Misener and Mason (2006), O'Sullivan (2012), Seippel (2006), Taylor (2011), Tonts (2005), Uslaner (1999) and Zakus, Skinner and Edwards (2009), social capital is the framework employed as a theoretical foundation. As community events unpretentiously portraying elements of distinct Scottish sporting culture and tradition, Highland games lack academic inquiry, which has led to a gap in the literature pertaining to Highland games in Scotland. The majority of event research has a

propensity toward major or international events (Masterman, 2004; Taylor, 2011; Ziakas, 2013) rather than small and medium-sized community events.

This empirical study aims to provide a unique insight through innovative inquiry into volunteer-led community-based competitive events. The study will address the paucity of current academic literature by creating an evidence base relating to the distribution, extent and nature of Highland games across Scotland. The study goes beyond a simple mapping exercise, to explore market and supply issues relating to organisational and managerial matters. As such, this is a substantial project with a broad scope that attempts to build a picture of Highland games activity from both a demand and supply perspective.

An added dimension to the study is the exploration of the social importance of Highland games relating to organisers and event audiences. The study explores whether Highland games present an arena for social capital creation within organising committees and between spectators and competitors. The events vary in size and Jarvie (2003) and McCall Smith (2013) suggest that smaller community events may have the ability to equally manifest social capital, if not more so, than large events on account of stronger community connections.

Perspectives from event organisers and experts reveal a rich source of data in association with some of the key contemporary challenges facing individual events. Small rurally located events may not be able to contribute to tourist activity in the same capacity as large or more urban central events although collectively might generate substantially to event tourism.

1.4 Focus and overall aim

To address the dearth of academic inquiry of Highland games in Scotland, this research explores multiple events. The overall aim of the study is to present the first national evaluation of Scottish Highland games to increase understanding of the events and links with touristic activity. These events have the capacity to contribute to the Tourism Development Framework for Scotland proposed by the Scottish Government (VisitScotland, 2013) where *'…iconic sporting and*

cultural events, which form the backbone of our events portfolio…' (Tourism Development Framework for Scotland, 2013: 37).

The empirical exploration of Highland games is placed within the context of small and medium not-for-profit community organisations that are essentially organising events for the community and may attract spectators from further afield. The cultural and indigenous sporting themes add another dimension in terms of overall appeal to a wider audience, but to what extent? There can be some misapprehension surrounding the ability of localised community events to attract day visitors and tourists which this research sets out to redress, advocating that even small community events can collectively contribute, quite significantly, to national tourism statistics and should not appear to be summarily dismissed, as they appear to be, by central government. Many events and festivals provide arenas for celebration that may lead to heightened levels of social interaction and integration which is investigated within a social capital theoretical framework. This may result in conspicuous levels and forms of social capital between individuals and groups of individuals.

As little is known about the topic of Highland games and to introduce key themes, following Gray (2009) the research objectives addressed in the next section have been developed to shape the study.

1.5 Research objectives

This study defines five key objectives. The first objective is invaluable to set the foundation for the whole study. To set the scene, the events across Scotland provide crucial information on the extent of the games and details of the structure and organisation of the volunteer committees. Therefore, the **first objective is to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland**. The data is collected through a survey completed by the organising committees.

Due to the lack of empirical or exploratory research associated with Highland games, the events are considered within the event tourism environment to gain a better understanding of Highland games in contemporary society. Individuals travelling as tourists are contributing to event and sport tourism within Scotland

which is of increasing importance to the central government's framework and strategies for the event and tourism industries. Events can attract interest from a wide tourism base and Scotland's unique landscapes, traditions, cultural forms and indigenous sports can be unique selling points. As Highland games comfortably straddle globally recognised indigenous sports and unique culture **the second objective is to explore if Scotland's Highland games contribute to event tourism in Scotland.**

The administration of not-for-profit community associations require teams of dedicated volunteers committed to ensure longevity of the events. Facing challenges associated with outdoor events that are often susceptible to the vagaries of potential event goers, the organisers strive to generate enough revenue to ensure sustainability. Highland games are largely isolated from the public agenda and difficulties can arise when events are faced with monetary shortages due to adverse weather conditions. Other factors such as legislative changes may equally result in some sort of financial impact. A previous study by Gerry Reynolds (Ross, 2011) focused on issues facing committees whereas this study places the organisers in context and conjunction with other key facets of Highland games to provide an in-depth approach. **The third objective is to explore the internal and external challenges facing the volunteers in sustaining Highland games.** Face-to-face interviews with organisers explore individual and collective challenges facing the organisations in their endeavours to preserve the events.

The fourth objective is to explore the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of spectators. Understanding the audience provides previously untapped information on sub-sections of the event population. Surveys distributed across multiple Highland games capture the required information to contribute to understanding audience characteristics at events.

The fifth objective aims to explain the social contribution of Highland games and their meaning to community residents, visitors and tourists. Therefore **the fifth objective is to determine if Highland games contribute to building social capital.** The data is collected from the perspective of organisers and spectators using quantitative and qualitative methods in the form of surveys and interviews. Key social capital themes expected to emerge relate to membership

associations, common interests and shared experiences. Social capital theory is commonplace in sports events literature and represents a useful framework in the exploration of sport related event research. Unlike single themed sports events, Highland games consist of an assortment of competitive sport activities alongside traditional music and dance competition likely to engage an eclectic audience.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

There are eight chapters in the thesis. This chapter introduces the Highland games as an area of inquiry detailing key research objectives and data gathering methods employed to respond to the research objectives.

Given the importance of understanding the origin and evolution of these unique events, **Chapter 2** explores the historical development of the Highland games and their global transportation by the Scottish diasporic community. Initially, a review of the evolution of Highland games is presented to establish the social and historical context of the events in Scotland. An historical review is critical to understanding the fundamental elements attached to the cultural and social significance of strong community roots present in contemporary events. Traditional competitive activities and the core components of Highland games are introduced and finally, contemporary issues and associated challenges of Highland games in twenty-first century Scotland are addressed.

The review of literature in **Chapter 3** begins with an overview of the leisure setting where the events are placed and continues with a discussion that follows events, sport and tourism activity associated with events. A key theme of Highland games is the cultural content and matters of authenticity are discussed prior to placing the events within a community and volunteer setting. The chapter concludes with a review of social capital as the theoretical framework and frames the discussion pertaining to events and Highland games in relation to the forms of bonding and bridging social capital.

A detailed review of the research design follows in **Chapter 4**, introducing a mixed method approach considered to be the most suitable when collecting different types of data from multiple sources. The study conducts three discrete

data collection exercises. An explanation of the rationale for implementing a mixed method strategy precedes a discussion on the philosophical underpinnings of data collection methods. The research design and strategy are discussed prior to disclosing the three survey mechanisms which include quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. Two sets of data were collected from organisers by means of a quantitative postal survey and qualitative in-depth interviews. The remaining data set was gathered from spectators at multiple events using a face-to-face self-completion survey. Finally the chapter addresses limitations and ethical considerations.

The analysis and findings of the first data set are presented in **Chapter 5**. The surveys were analysed with univariate and bivariate SPSS processes to collect mainly factual and statistical data on the administration, finance and organisation whilst identifying key areas and events for further investigation.

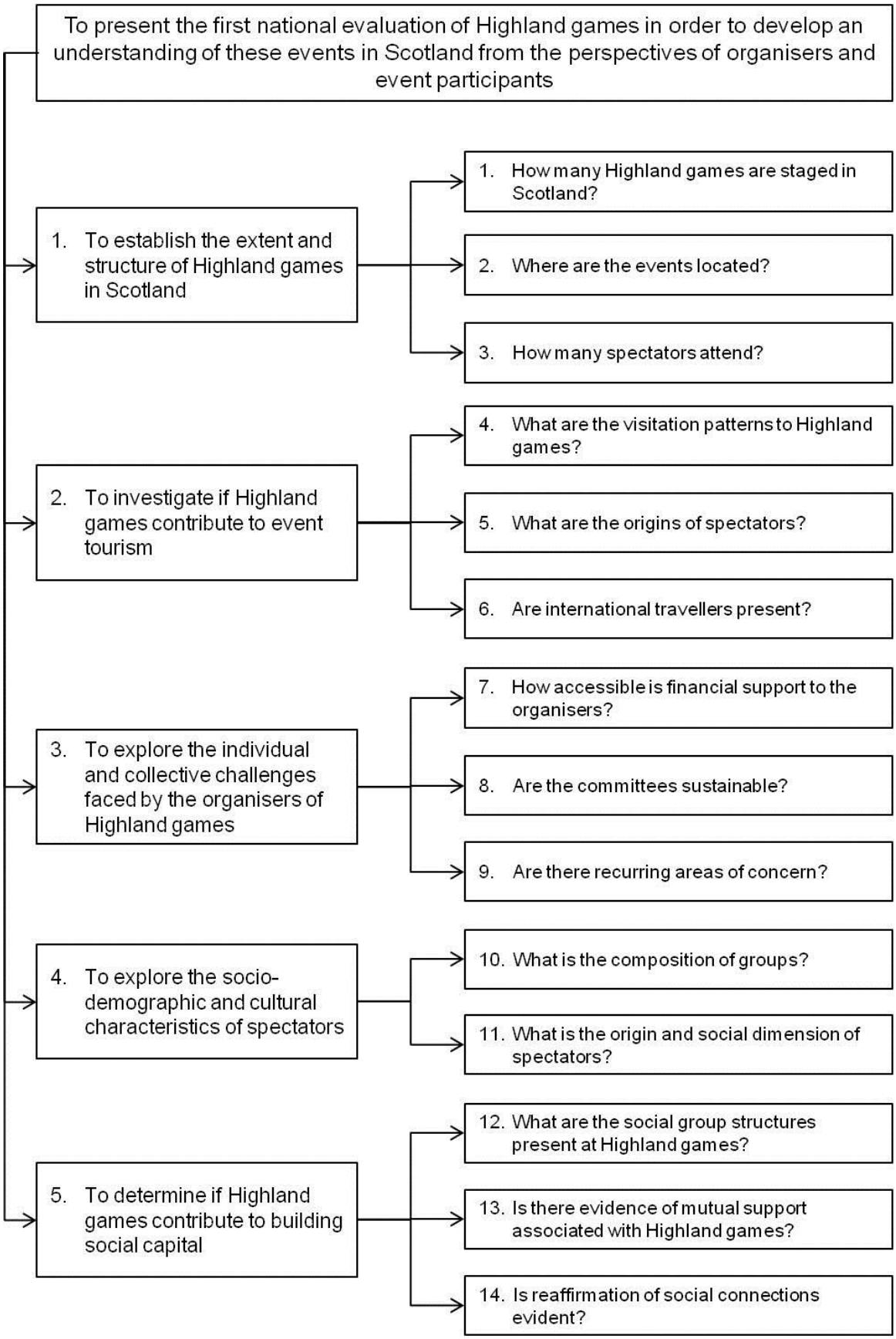
The second data set was collected from spectators at 15 individual events with the results presented in **Chapter 6**. Analysed using SPSS, the predominantly categorical content of data was to determine relations and associations by employing univariate and bivariate analytical methods. The principles of cross tabulation, Pearson's Chi-square and Cramer's V tests were applied to pursue or eliminate possible relationships and associations in order to increase understanding of the social interaction and event experience encountered by the audiences.

The qualitative data set was analysed and presented in **Chapter 7** using thematic framework analysis (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002; Srivastava and Thomson, 2009) as a flexible method to draw out key themes. The themes pursued in this chapter are pertinent to Highland games as community based events and the challenges faced by the volunteer led not-for-profit organisations.

Chapter 8 summarises the limitations of the research project, the final conclusions, contribution and originality of the research, highlighting major contributions and implications for further research beyond the scope of this thesis.

The aims and objectives of the research are set out in Figure 1.1 which clearly defines the objectives and identifies some key questions, the answers to which will lead to increased knowledge and understanding of Scotland's Highland games. The questions put forward address each individual objective in order to respond to and answer the research objectives.

Figure 1. 1 Aims and objectives



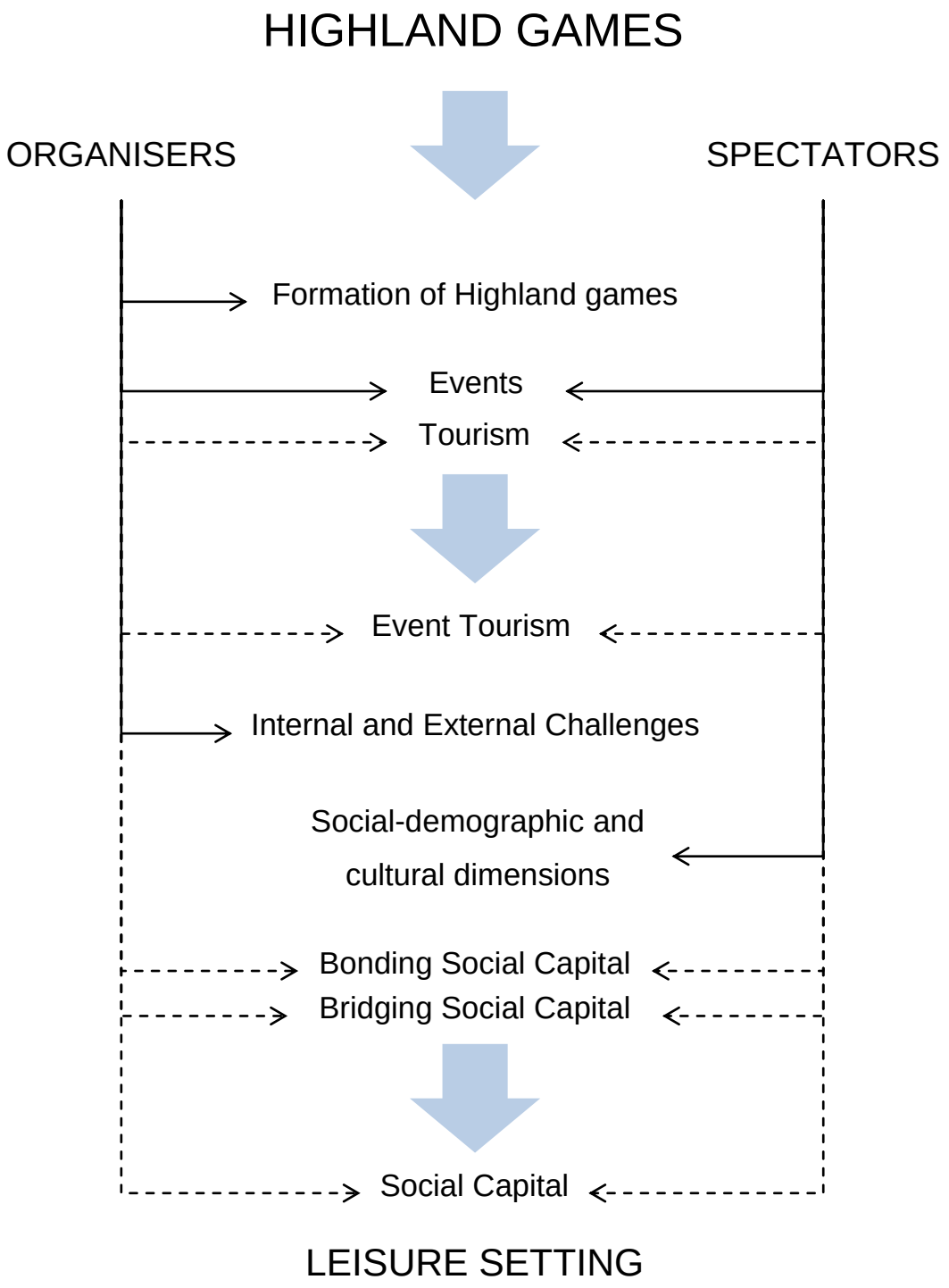
The key research themes are illustrated in the conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 1.2 where the Highland games are set within a leisure environment in view of the fact that events and leisure are increasingly placed within a mutual setting (Getz and McConnell, 2011; Patterson and Getz, 2013). The framework clearly displays the two sources of data collection, the organisers and the spectators.

The conceptual framework illustrates the interrelationships between key themes to address the broad spectrum of concepts associated with Highland games that are relevant to this thesis. The guiding principles lie between three discrete sources of information gathered from those attending events as spectators and the organisers. Organisers are predominately volunteers connected with association membership. Conversely the spectators arrive at events as a leisure choice to enjoy an occasion, planned and staged by others. The events require a substantial amount of associated collaborative elements to stage successfully.

The sources of data collection are defined at the top of the illustration and as the diagram descends the broken lines indicate the potential source of information related to the associated themes of the objectives which are placed in the centre. It is thought that the spectator data collection process will be associated with the second objective to explore event tourism, the fourth objective to investigate socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, and the fifth objective to determine if there is evidence of social capital. However, this cannot be substantiated until the data is analysed. Where there is a solid line the connection has been established as the organisers address the internal and external challenges whereas the spectators provide data on socio-demographic and cultural dimensions.

Objective one which addresses the formation of Highland games, and objective three to explore internal and external challenges, are specific to the organisers and map the events and explore management and organisational aspects. The findings may address the second and fifth objectives relating to event tourism and social capital; however, this is unknown and is indicated by the broken connecting lines, suggesting disjunction at this part of the process.

Figure 1. 2 Conceptual framework



(Source: author)

Chapter summary

This chapter sets out the rationale for researching Highland games and provides some context of the events within Scotland and the importance of the events as a research project. Some of the key issues are identified which set Highland games apart as unique events and a valuable study project, due to the significance of the events to many communities and the potential appeal to a broad visitor and tourism base.

The focus and overall aim of the research introduced the five objectives which drive the study prior to addressing the individual content of the eight chapters. In the final section the reader is introduced to some key questions that inform the data collection content associated with the aims and objectives presented in Figure 1.1 The conceptual framework depicted in Figure 1.2 sets out the expected paths to illustrate potential links between the sources of data collection and the objective themes.

The thesis is an exploratory review of Scottish Highland games and will assist to increase academic understanding of the events. The study sets out to explore Highland games initiating a sequence to map the intricacies and demands of the complex environment in which they operate, as opposed to producing swathes of intricate sophisticated data that until more is known about the events would not be meaningful in content. The emphasis of this analysis is on the sustainability and fundamental nature of events, useful to develop a national representation of emerging issues. Therefore this significant and meaningful study sets out to firmly place Highland games firmly within an academic standing.

Highland games have a long history, and preserve some globally recognised tangible and intangible symbols of Scotland's culture which is on display, in the form of music, dance, indigenous sport, bagpipes, tartan and Scotland's national dress. It is reasonable to approach the subject from an evolutionary and historical development viewpoint, to place the events within contemporary Scottish society. Therefore Chapter 2 presents the historical background and evolution of Highland games as a starting point to introduce the main content and themes.

2 Background: The evolution of Highland games

This chapter introduces the historical foundations of Highland games and starts from the suggestion that a version of a modern style Highland games event took place in the fourteenth century. To appreciate the cultural and historical significance of the Highland games phenomenon in Scotland and to set the study in context, it is important to reflect on the foundation and historical evolution of the events. It is a complex, but compelling historical evolution that must be appreciated if one is to understand the events in their current setting.

The first part of the chapter examines some of the antecedents of Highland games beginning with the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion[2] which led to the emergence of visual symbolisms that came to be representative of Scotland and associated with Highland games. Consequently this chapter explores the early links that emerged from the subjugation of the Highlanders following the Jacobite Rebellions when the Highlander and the Highland region of Scotland endured a period of substantial social change.

It was the period following the final uprising that Highlanders and the Highland landscape were romanticized through literature, music and art that is discussed in the next section. In particular, Sir Walter Scott extolled the virtues of the Highland landscape and portrayed the Highlander as a noble creature in stories and poems set in Scotland. In some measure it was the romanticising of the Highlands that ultimately led to increased travel to the region, and led to the re-instatement of elements of the *'Highland'* way of life. This era was instrumental in encouraging Scots to restore competitive events which are thought to be the forerunners of modern Highland games.

Thereafter, the significance of traditional Highland dress introduces the popularisation of wearing a tartan kilt which remains a significant feature of modern events. The importance of tartan is established and the evolution of Highland dress that became a recognised representative symbol of Scotland

[2] There were Joacobite Rebellions in 1689, 1715 and 1745 when the Scots attempted to restore the Stuarts to the UK throne (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010)

and associated with Scotland and Highland games. After the tartan connection has been established the discussion turns to the king's visit.

During the formal visit of King George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, Sir Walter Scott encouraged people to wear tartan kilts, firmly establishing such attire into Scottish culture. The period following the king's visit was particularly instrumental in the development of Highland games across Scotland. The next section explores the historical roots of the events. Although the fragmentary nature of written documentation precludes accurately charting the evolution of Highland games, there is thought to be an early form of games which places the events within an historical context.

Thereafter, the transnationalisation of events associated with patterns of migration when many Highlanders left for foreign countries transporting elements of Highland culture found in Highland games held overseas. The transnationalisation of the events is worthy of inclusion to establish the importance of Highland games beyond Scotland's borders. Migrants may return to Scotland to be reacquainted with family and friends, and it is within this context that is partly associated with the second objective to explore for evidence of event tourism at Highland games. Returning family members and friends contributes to the fifth objective in relation to social capital.

The core competitive activities of Highland games are rooted in indigenous sport and music and are presented with reference to the heavy events, Highland dancing and bagpipe music. The events are then placed within contemporary society establishing the progression of events through written documentation and records from the early 1800s.

The content in the latter sections explores conflicting opinions of tartan as a portrayal of Scotland and debates tartan as promotional imagery for Scotland. Some of the negative narrative can be associated with the third objective exploring individual and collective challenges endured by Highland games due to the strong association with tartan. Thereafter the chapter introduces some of the challenges linked to public sector financial support which links to the third objective exploring internal and external challenges of the organisers.

Following the suppression of traditional activities and the Highland way of life, Highland games underwent a revival which enabled indigenous sporting activity, dance and music to thrive across the country. This period was an important turning point in celebrating the Highland way of life which continues, in some part, represented through Highland games. In order to place Highland games in an historical context it is necessary to begin at a point in history when Scotland, particularly the Highlands, was in turmoil.

2.1 Highlanders – The Rebellion

The Jacobite[3] uprisings occurred between 1688 and 1746 and the final uprising of 1745 was an attempt by Charles Edward Stuart[4] (1720–1788) to re-instate the House of Stuart to the British throne and crown James III[5] (1688 – 1766) as king (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010). The importance and connection of the Jacobite Rebellion lies with the mainly Highland army that supported re-instating the House of Stuart to the throne. The Rebellion ended when Bonnie Prince Charlie's army was defeated at the Battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746 and he was forced to flee to France (Leneman, 1988; Webster, 2011).

Social upheaval followed, and unlike the Highlander who became known as an honourable and chivalrous hero dwelling amid romantic scenery (Withers, 1992), there were divisive perceptions by the Lowlanders of people residing in the Highlands during this time. Feared by other Scots (Leneman, 1988) and regarded by Lowlanders[6] as uncouth savages, Highlanders were considered lazy and barbarous (Calloway, 2008; Leneman, 1988; Trevor - Roper, 2008; Womack, 1989) and prone to thievery when left to their own devices. Considered to be apart from the other Scottish inhabitants, there was a desire by ruling government officials and the political élite to integrate the Highland region, the domicile of the Highlanders, with the rest of the country (Womack, 1989). As noted by Brander (1992: 11) Highlanders were *'secluded in their*

[3] A Jacobite was a supporter of the exiled Royal House of Stuart

[4] Charles Edward Stuart was also known as the Young Pretender and Bonnie Prince Charlie

[5] James III was the father of Charles Edward Stuart

[6] Lowlanders are inhabitants of the southern part of Scotland lying south and east of the Highlands

straths[7] *and glens, isolated by trackless mountains and Gaelic*[8]*, the Highlanders remained a race apart….*' emphasising the division between the inhabitants of the north and south of Scotland not only geographically but also by language.

The separist nature of the Scottish geographical landscape between Lowlanders and Highlanders was detailed by Womack (1989) following the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden in 1746.

> *In 1746 the Highlands of Scotland were still an alien province: separated from the rest of the kingdom by language, culture and social system, they were the scene of the last serious military uprising to occur on the British mainland. Within half a century that otherness had been tamed and assimilated by a remarkable semiotic operation: it had been made into a romance.*
>
> (Womack, 1989: Foreword in dust cover)

This description takes the Highlander from an uncouth savage to the romanticised figure which is far removed from the reality of Highland life during the eighteenth century.

After the failure of the final Jacobite uprising, it was deemed that the Highlands could no longer be left alone and government officials and the political élite became involved in Highland affairs as Highland chiefs lost their powers of justice (Leneman, 1988). In defeat, many supporters of the Jacobite Rebellion were evicted from their homes during the Highland Clearances (Leneman, 1988), leading to many making their way across the Atlantic to Canada and America (Withers, 1992) where Scots émigrés established their own Highland games.

As part of the process of quelling and subduing Highlanders, the Disarming Act (1716) was introduced which prohibited Highlanders from carrying weapons (Leneman, 1988; Webster, 2011). The Act of Proscription (1746) followed prohibiting the wearing of kilts, playing of bagpipes and holding any sporting gatherings (Webster, 2011; Zarnowski, 2005). Scotland remained under the rule of the English and this is considered to be one of the most turbulent and

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[7] Straths are a Scottish word meaning a broad mountain valley

[8] Gaelic relates to a Celtic language spoken in the Highlands and islands of western Scotland

important times in Scottish history. To preserve at least one Highland tradition many Scots joined the British army where wearing the kilt was permitted (Calloway, 2008; Webster, 2011) and when stationed overseas, many Highlanders organised traditional competitive Highland activities perpetuating many of the customary Highland sports (Brander, 1992; Webster, 2011).

The Act of Proscription was repealed in 1782 (Brander, 1992; Trevor-Roper, 2008; Withers, 1998) mainly due to the efforts of the Highland Society of London which was founded in July 1777 (Withers, 1992). Once again civilians were permitted to wear the kilt, beginning its revival, although by this time the style of clothing had virtually died out as most people had adapted to wearing trews[9] or breeches (Trevor-Roper, 2008). Any form of the kilt could easily have died out except that army regiments had continued to wear tartan as part of the soldier's uniform (Trevor-Roper, 2008; Webster, 2011). The Disarming Act was also repealed in 1782 (Webster, 2011) allowing traditional Highland activities to be re-instated although as Webster (2011) states, at this time Highland culture had all but disappeared. It was not until the emergence of Highland Societies, created to sustain Highland culture that an attempt was made to retain traditional music and dance. This led to first staging of a Society Gathering in Falkirk in 1781 which was mainly a piping competition (Davidson, 2009; Webster, 1973). Other Societies such as the Society of True Highlanders were established with the main aim to support *'the Dress, language, music and characteristics of our illustrious and Ancient Race in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland'* (Prebble, 1988: 39). The events emerging during this time are considered to be the forerunners of contemporary Highland games. When there is a rapid transformation of society such as in the Highlands during the 1700s, old traditions were weakened or destroyed through changing social patterns, thereby producing new traditions (Hobsbawn, 2008).

The re-emergence of the Highlands and the Highlander were in part created through the stories pertaining to the Jacobite uprising. These tumultuous times acted as a catalyst to romanticise the Highlander through stories and poetry and the emergence of created romanticism of the Highlands was underway. The

[9] Trews are close fitting tartan trousers traditionally worn by certain Scottish regiments originally mid 16th century; from the Scottish Gaelic triubhas

Highland way of life was far removed from the romanticised Scotland created by Sir Walter Scott[10] in the 1800s (Scott, 1994) although the increasing amount of Jacobite literature promoted the Highlander as a romantic and heroic figure.

2.2 Romanticising the Highlands

The first Scottish writer to influence and shape the image of Scotland abroad from 1760–1763 was James Macpherson[11] (1736–1796) who published the '*Works of Ossian'* and the '*Son of Fingal'* which he falsely claimed were translated from ancient Gaelic poetry. The majority of the content was his own imagination, referring to noble Ossianic heroes and is considered by Scott (1994) to be one of the most influential works that promoted Scotland to Europeans. It was this first narrative that brought the Highland region of Scotland to the attention of continental Europe by creating a strong and unique image of Scotland (Scott, 1994). For about 200 years Scotland was portrayed as a special place by European composers such as Schubert, Mendelssohn, Bruch, Haydn, Beethoven and Chopin who were writing music with Scotland in mind.

Whilst James Macpherson initially raised the profile of Scotland in Europe it is Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) who stands out as the most influential in bringing modern day symbols of Scotland to the nation, across the United Kingdom (UK) to Europe and beyond. After Macpherson, Sir Walter Scott was essentially the instigator for the creation of Highland myth and romance with his novels and poetry and the invention of the romanticised Highlander (Withers, 1992). Although the Highlander may have been invented through Scott's books as a romantic figure in novels such as '*The Lady of the Lake'*, set in the Trossachs[12] (Withers, 1989), the landscape portrayed in the same books was real. The subject of Scott's first novel *'The Waverley'* was associated with Highlanders and the Rebellion of 1745 which was set in quintessentially romantic Scottish

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[10] Sir Walter Scott was a well know Scottish author of the 19th century and was the main instigator and manager of King George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822

[11] James Macpherson was a Scottish writer, poet and politician

[12] '*The Trossachs is a popular tourist destination set within the Loch Lomond and Trossachs National Park*

landscapes (Webster, 1973). The protagonists in Scott's books such as '*The Lady of the Lake'* (1810) and '*The Waverley'* (1814) were portrayed wearing Highland dress which came to be recognised as representative of Scotland (Burnett, 2000). The romantic literacy of the early nineteenth century constructed and perpetuated a set of myths that became the mythification of Scotland (Butler, 1985). The Highlands have played a crucial role in the manufacture of Scottish history and Scotland's national identity, although the landscape is real there emerged a mythical set of signs and images (Withers, 1992).

Slightly later during the 1780s, Robert Burns[13] (1759–1796) was known for writing poetry depicting nationalist sentiment for the Jacobite movement (Leneman, 1988) and setting much of his poetry and novels in Scotland (Scott, 1994). Readers of these books were inspired to travel to Scotland from across Europe and the UK, individuals who wanted to experience the landscapes described within the stories. It was therefore unsurprising that this romantic idea of the Highlander prevailed, defining a distinct differentiation between the inhabitants of the Lowland areas of Scotland and the Highlanders, as noted by Leneman:

> *Many of these cultural productions relating to the Highlands were made in the past and are renewed today by Lowlanders. Lowlanders may not have known anything about the Gaelic tradition, but it was their idealisation of Highland virtues and their appropriation of Highland accoutrements such as bagpipes, kilts and tartans – not to mention the Stewart line of kings – which helped to create a new Scottish identity. The lost cause of Jacobitism was an important element in Lowland incorporation of the Highlands in their consciousness of what it meant to be a Scot.*
>
> Leneman (1988: 120)

The contrived history of this time was considered real by outsiders and to some extent hijacked by Lowlanders (Withers, 1989).

[13] Robert Burns was a Scottish poet best known for poems such as Tam o' Shanter and for old Scottish songs

Built on earlier portrayals of Scotland, Scott's romanticism spread across Europe creating a new attitude to the past. All over Europe other novelists and writers imitated his work through operas and plays whilst artists created paintings based on his poems and stories (Scott, 1994). The images portrayed through writing, paintings and opera provide an insight into the culture, real or imagined, where place and identity were combined and communicated (Bale, 1994). Withers (1992) argues that it is only by understanding the historiographical Highlands that the set of myths which have helped to create the tartanry effect and Highlandism as part of the *'facts'* of history can be understood. Rather than perceived as *'false perception'* they are in fact real in the romantic sense because that image is what many people believed to be *'real'* at the time (Withers, 1992). Created in the past and continuing in the present, the imagery of bagpipes, kilts and tartan continues to be a central theme of Highland games and very much part of Scotland's global identity. Due to the failure of the Jacobite uprising of 1745 and the political decisions that followed, romantic myth had become fact (Prebble, 1988).

It is unlikely that any other writer achieved the same level of influence as Sir Walter Scott (Scott, 1994) although Robert Burns may also have influenced travel to Scotland, and in the 1920s the Scottish poet Hugh MacDiarmid[14] (1892–1978) campaigned for Scotland to be recognised as a nation, an occurrence that came to fruition in 1999 when Scotland regained its own Parliament at Holyrood (Devolution Settlement Scotland, 2013).

The historical content is important, since this was a time of great social change in the Highlands and some of the globally recognised symbols of Scotland emerged during this period. Even although tartan and kilts can still be thought of as invented tradition both are very much associated with contemporaneous Scotland and Highland games.

2.2.1 The significance of traditional Highland dress

Tartan and kilts are always very visible and on show at Highland games. Full Highland dress, which has been adopted as Scotland's national dress, is

[14] Christopher Murray Grieve, a Scottish poet writing under the pen name Hugh MacDiarmid

generally worn by the pipe bands when competing. It is also mandatory for Highland dancers to wear formal Highland dress when competing at Highland games, except when dances have a unique costume such as the Seann Trihubhas, Flora MacDonald, Sailor's Hornpipe and Irish Jig[15]. Adopted as the national dress for Scotland, the symbolic significance of modern tartan kilts cannot be underestimated.

The original clothing worn by Highlanders was in equal measure a functional long length of plaid[16] which wrapped around the upper body, hanging to the knees (Withers, 1992) leaving the legs free for traversing rough terrain, rivers and streams. The plaid could be used as a blanket to keep warm at night (Trevor-Roper, 2008; Webster, 2011) and to help the wearer lie hidden amongst the heather (Trevor-Roper, 2008). Contemporary kilts are known as the *'philibeg'* from the Gaelic *'Feileadh-beag'* which was the original attire of Highlanders (Trevor-Roper, 2008; Withers, 1992), unlike the kilts today which are worn on the waist.

Following the revival of tartan and kilts after 1822 the original kilt wearers now wore trews, and it was the wealthy upper and middle classes from the Lowlands who took to wearing Highland dress (Trevor-Roper, 2008). There are still circumstances where the kilt is incorrectly portrayed as Managan (1999: 66) proposes the kilt is invented and criticises movies like *Braveheart* that have *'warriors clad in an 18th century piece of folly.'* The kilt was not a familiar form of dress in 1726 but by 1745 it was well enough identified with Highlanders (Trevor-Roper, 2008) and through subsequent actions of Sir Walter Scott was re-developed into a symbol synonymous with Scotland.

In *'The Invention of Scotland'* Trevor-Roper (2008) titled one of his chapters *'The Sartorial Myth'* when writing about the invention of the kilt and the romanticism of the Highlands that was encouraged by Sir Walter Scott. Even with all this *'invented',* tradition it is argued by Ray (2001) that all tradition is invented at some point and that traditions evolve from inherited knowledge which becomes authenticated through adoption by communities. Perhaps in

[15] Special dances that have unique competitive costumes

[16] Long piece of tartan worn over the shoulder as part of Scottish Highland dress

the case of Highland games, tartan and kilts, the simple fact that the *'traditions'* are relatively new, brings into question their authenticity. Traditions invented or otherwise reinforce symbols of group identity creating strength within communities through the celebration of common origins, which can in turn, lead to the creation of new traditions (Ray, 2001). Irrespective of whether modern Highland dress is invented or not, it is an essential feature of contemporary Highland games.

There is an argument that almost all cultures have invented or re-invented traditions (Urry, 2003) where culture can be perpetrated by the works of novelists, playwrights, historians and musicians, in a similar fashion to the romanticising of the Highlands. As Withers (1992) suggests the romantic Highlands were created as a set of myths that have influenced and perpetuated the manufacture of Scottish history and national identity. This includes the misplaced fascination with tartanry and other so called Highland symbols that are a nineteenth century phenomenon (Trevor-Roper, 1983; Withers, 1992) created through the *'discovery'* of the Highland region and popularised by Queen Victoria. Beacom (1998) contemplates that national identity evolves over time and may depend upon political and social movements as reflected in the history of the Highlands. An outlook shared by Withers (1992; 143) who proposes that '*…the Highlands have played a crucial role in the manufacture of Scottish history and in the making of Scottish national identity*.' Withers (1992) suggests the conception of the Highlands is an eighteenth century phenomenon asserting:

> *The creation of the Highlands is the result of several agencies in combination: the geographical 'discovery' of the region; the idea of the Highlander as a 'noble savage' in the context of enlightenment theories on the stages of societal development; and a Romantic interest in primitive virtue alongside interests in the aesthetic pleasures to be gained in contemplation of picturesque scenery.*
>
> Withers (1992: 145)

Scotland was an appealing destination to affluent travellers and romantics in the early 1800s and the notion of a romantic land was perpetuated by a return to wearing tartan as kilts and associated accoutrements. The contemporary style

of kilt was re-enforced by the actions of Sir Walter Scott when making preparations for the historical visit of King George IV to Scotland in 1822.

2.2.2 The King comes to Scotland

Arguably the whole idea of the romantic Highlander came to fulfilment when King George IV came to Edinburgh in 1822 (Prebble, 1988). King George IV was the first British monarch to set foot on Scottish soil from the time when Charles I paid a formal visit in 1633 for his Scottish Coronation (Lynch, 1996).

The visit was orchestrated by Sir Walter Scott and as Pageant Master he took full advantage of the opportunity to provide a platform for ancient Scotland to be reborn. Exemplified as the *'Celtification of Scotland'* by Prebble (1988: 18) it could be argued that this was the beginning of the making of the myth of Highland Dress and the association with tartan and Scotland:

> *The Royal Visit cannot be dismissed as Atholl set it aside, no more than twenty-one days of daft play-acting. Scotland could not be the same again once it was over. A bogus tartan caricature of itself had been drawn and accepted, even by those who mocked it, and it would develop in perspective and colour. With the ardent encouragement of Anglo-Scottish establishment, and under the patronage of successive monarchs who took to kilt and cromach*[17] *with Germanic thoroughness, Walter Scott's Celtification continued to seduce his countrymen, and thereby prepared them for political and industrial exploitation. It gave them a picturesque national identity where none had been wholly satisfying since the Union, and reminded them, as Scott had hoped, of 'all those peculiarities' which distinguished them as Scots.*
>
> Prebble (1988: 364)

This clearly defines the point in history when the Scottish national dress became established and adopted based on modern tartans. Although at this point it is appropriate and relevant to point out that a chequered piece of fabric was found in the Highlands and accepted as clothing worn by ancient inhabitants of Scotland. The piece of fabric was dated 3rd century A.D. (BBC, 2013).

[17] A Cromach is a shepherd's crook or stick

By the early nineteenth century the appurtenances connecting the Highlands (whether genuine or spurious) with tartan, bagpipes and the kilt had already become symbols of Scotland that still exist today (Leneman, 1988). In the time leading up to the arrival of King George IV, tartan weavers were inundated with orders. John Calendar & Company of Stirling and the Wilson Brothers of Bannockburn (Prebble, 1988) profited heavily from the king's visit in 1822 (Burnett, 2000). Sir Walter Scott felt there was a need to encourage people to wear tartan and produced a leaflet titled *'Hints for the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and others'* suggesting that people should wear tartan at least once during the king's visit, with *'True Highlanders'* encouraged to wear full Highland Dress (Prebble, 1988). Not only were people attending official functions encouraged to wear the kilt, Sir Walter Scott persuaded the king to wear full Highland dress, prompting an increased demand for kilts by those attending the organised functions (Zarnowski, 2005).

Not everyone was eager to embrace the idea of wearing tartan as there was dissent from some Lowlanders as noted by James Stuart of Dunearn[18] *'…Sir Walter had ridiculously made us appear a nation of Highlanders, and the bagpipe and the tartan was the order of the day'* (Prebble, 1988: 269). Highland dress was worn at an organised Highland Ball which was the most likely time in history that the kilt became Scotland's national dress (Prebble, 1988).

The 1830s heralded a new opportunity for many English when the Highlands became a hunting ground and sporting arena for the middle and upper classes (Withers, 1989). It was at this time that many Highland estates were acquired and smaller holdings disappeared (Prebble, 1988). In part, this was attributed to the modernisation of a working structure and events held at weekends became more accessible to the working classes (Tranter, 1998). Compounded with the migration of working families to developing urban areas (Roberts, 2004), throughout the nineteenth century local authorities attempted to build civic pride through leisure innovations. In addition, social reformers such as hobby enthusiasts, religious institutions and volunteers formed clubs to

[18] James Stuart of Dunearn was a politician and one time editor of The Courier in the 1830s

encourage the working classes to move away from more traditional, yet undesirable sporting activities (Bull et al., 2003). During the nineteenth century when many Highland games were first established, a number of competitive sports were evolving from rowdy, unorganised games although eventually became formalised by establishing rules (Weed and Bull, 2004).

The emergence of Highland games in the nineteenth century brought together a number of different competitive activities within the confines of a single event to include athletics, bagpipe music and dance. Strong links exist between recreational activities of the agrarian community and training for battle that helps to explain the origins of some of the competitive activities found at Highland games (Webster, 2011). Highland customs found in traditional Highland culture and societies were key features of the events epitomised by wearing part or full Highland attire. The breathtaking landscapes recorded in historical literature and artistry, the history of tartan and kilts in particular, are synonymous with Scotland and are recognised across the world (Yeoman et al., 2005). Immediately recognisable as something Scottish, the custom of wearing full Highland dress is present at all Highland games perpetuating and re-enforcing these adopted, nationalistic symbols of Scotland. When the games spread to the Lowland areas of Scotland, the Highland character was maintained through content and dress (Burnett, 2000). The indigenous sporting content of Highland games is of particular significance associated with past imagined or real traditions, firmly linked to collective identity and place (Beacom, 1998) and connectivity to Scotland.

The revival of Highland culture in the form of activities and attire provide a venue for spectacle, detectable through the images of tartan associated with music, dance and heavy athletes at contemporary Highland games.

2.3 Origin of Scotland's Highland games

The origins of the Highland games in Scotland cannot be factually confirmed. Their source is difficult to accurately identify due to the lack of existing detailed documentary records (Jarvie, 1991: Webster, 1973). Some historians studying sports events find difficulty in clearly identifying the *'origins'* of a specific activity and if left to the apologists of sport the origins would remain mythologized

(Polley, 2004). Originally the Highlands were associated with the Gàidhealtachd[19] or Gaelic speaking areas of the original Irish settlers. It is difficult to obtain precise details as during this time most information relating to Highland customs and traditions was passed on to succeeding generations by word of mouth rather than written documents. One explanation of the Gaelic origin of the games is that athletic events were brought to Argyll in the West of Scotland by Northern Irish raiders known to the Romans as *'Scotti'* (Calloway, 2008; Ray, 2001; Webster, 2011) migrating from Northern Ireland between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. The interlopers brought an early form of athletics to Scotland (Burnett, 2000; Nally, 1923; Redmond, 1982) known as the *'Tailteann Games'*[20] which continued to be staged until around 1180 A.D. (Webster, 2011).

A popular explanation among historians is that the origin of the Highland games is thought to have developed during the reign of King Malcolm Cean-Mor (of Canmore, 1058–1093) in the eleventh century when organising a gathering at Braemar, in the Grampian region of Scotland. It was at this site that clansmen competed in races with the winners chosen as post runners to deliver messages on behalf of the king (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Jarvie, 1989, 1991; The Oxford Companion to Scottish History, 2001; Webster, 1973) and the strongest warriors chosen to become the king's bodyguards, re-affirming the link to military activities. Grant (1961) and Webster (1973), suggest that some competitive content of Highland games was established through young clansmen training and preparing for combat. As forms of leisure and recreation, other activities that engaged Highland youths were swimming, archery, football, throwing the barr, fencing, dancing and wrestling (Grant, 1961).

Although the precise origins of early Highland games is unclear, it is thought that the gathering held at Ceres in 1314 following Robert the Bruce's[21], victorious Battle of Bannockburn is one of the oldest surviving events (Dunnett, 1998; Webster, 2011), which still takes place today and is one of the few with

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[19] Gàidhealtachd is historically the Gaelic speaking areas of Scotland now reduced to the Western Isles, the North West Highlands, Skye and Lochalsh and Argyll and Bute, with small Gaelic populations in Glasgow and Edinburgh

[20] The Tailteann Games are ancient sporting Games which originated in Ireland and took place for Queen Tailté, starting in 1829 B.C. and continuing until around 1180 A.D. (Nally, 1923)

[21] Robert the Bruce as a claimant of the Scottish throne in the early fourteenth century

free entrance. Burnett (2000), Grant (1961) and Jarvie, (1989, 1991) propose there are some obtainable records of events taking place around the 1820s. After 1820 Burnett (2000) suggests that the events spread further from the Highland area of Scotland to the Lowlands although still retaining Highland character. Currently there is only one Highland games that is named as a Lowland event rather than a Highland event (Carrick Lowland Games), most likely because of its geographical location in the Lowland area of Scotland which is south of the Highlands.

As at most fairs, markets and games, it was common for competition to develop at Highland games, where Scots competed against each other in dance, music and athletics (Allan, 1974). Medals or cash were awarded as prizes at early events (Burnett, 2000) and by 1860 heavy event athletes[22] helped to establish a *'circuit'* where athletes competed at multiple events (Brander, 1992; Davidson, 2009; Webster, 2011) making significant amounts of money in the process (Colquhoun and Machell; 1927; Gibson, 1882; McCombie Smith, 1891; Ross, 2014). It was noted by Burnett (2000) that in 1860 élite heavy athletes such as Donald Dinnie[23] could earn a substantial amount of money competing on the *'circuit'.* The practice of following a circuit by athletes, dancers and pipers continues in current Scottish events.

2.3.1 Bridging the gap: early 1300s to the twenty-first century

The point of origin of Highland games is unknown. The major problem is lack of documentation and the fragmentary nature of any evidence, due to most accounts of customs and traditions being passed to subsequent generations by word of mouth (Grant, 1961). Jarvie (1991) contends that the lack of knowledge of Highland customs can be accounted to the druidical religious orders which *'strictly forbade the use of writing as a means of passing on folklore and customs from generation to generation'* (Jarvie, 1991: 9). The broader argument is that the word Highlander did not emerge until the fourteenth century therefore earlier meetings in the Highlands would simply have been a

[22] The athletes competing in strength trials such as throwing the hammer or weight are referred to as heavy athletes

[23] Donald Dinne was a renowned and revered Scottish predominately heavy event athlete, born in 1837 and travelled the world competing at Highland games (Webster, 2011)

gathering, and that modern Highland games *'might be descended from a number of particular antecedent cultural and sporting events, some of which may date back to at least the eleventh century'* (Jarvie, 1991; 7). At this point it is useful to note that a clan gathering or a gathering of the clans may have been a celebration at the end of harvest, or the clan chiefs would hold competitions to pick the strongest or fleetest men for bodyguards and couriers (Webster, 1973); and Jarvie (1989) contends that gatherings associated with Clans and social order are likely to have existed in the Highlands before 1750.

The event held at Ceres by the returning and victorious soldiers after the Battle at Bannockburn in 1314, is proposed to be the forerunner of modern Highland games (Dunnett, 1998; Webster, 2011). Modern events are documented from the early 1800s with very little evidence of what was happening between the early 1300s until the modern events. Therefore it is difficult to firmly place the events within an accurate timeline and historical context. If Highlanders were gathering for competitive sporting competitions the enforced isolation of the Highland landscape (Brander, 1992; Womack, 1989) may have prevented any knowledge of such events extending beyond the Highland region. The Highlanders were also separated from the rest of Scotland by language preferring Gaelic to the English language (Brander, 1992; Womack, 1989), then in the 1700s many families left the region through migration and the population was significantly reduced (Calloway, 2008; Leneman, 1988; Withers, 1992). It was during this time that the politically élite attempted to assimilate the Highlanders to a Lowland way of life (Womack, 1989), further removing evidence of distinct Highland culture.

By the late 1780s the Highland way of life had all but disappeared (Webster, 2011) which is likely to have impeded any attempts to hold a gathering for any purpose. In fact, to prevent any opportunity for disorder by the remaining Highland population, any kind of sporting gatherings were banned (Hobsbawn, 2008; Webster, 2011). The social changes of the 1700s combined with declining interest and the effort required to stage the events may have contributed to their demise. By the 1830s Highland small holdings had all but disappeared engulfed by large estates (Prebble, 1988) and many active young men had left the region (Jarvie, 1994) through forced emigration, mostly to

North America and Canada (Leneman, 1988, Withers, 1992). Many gatherings of a sporting nature were lost during this period, going out of fashion or through a lack of inclination by the remaining Highland population. Although there does appear to be a resurgence of events during the Victorian era.

By all accounts the numbers of Highland games held in the early twenty-first century differ from events of past times. The number of events in modern times bears little resemblance to the profusion of Highland games found in historical accounts. In Victorian Scotland nearly every village and town held annual games (Allan, 1974; Webster, 2011) although by the end of WWII the number of events had reduced to around 200 (Webster, 1973). The loss of life during the two World Wars would certainly have reduced the number of competing athletes and may have removed the inclination to re-start events that had been abandoned during the war years.

Lothian (2001) states there were 161 Highland games and gatherings listed in the year 2000 although suggests that when events are removed that may not be considered '*proper'* i.e. do not contain the full complement of competitive core activities (heavy events, Highland dancing and running), the number was reduced to 117. There are accounts of events recorded in newspapers that provide some evidence of locations of former events but for some unknown reason no longer exist (see Appendix A for locations of former events).

Following the defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden many of the Scots who were forced from their homes carried remnants of their Scottish heritage overseas to re-establish some form of their Highland culture. When stationed overseas many Scottish soldiers serving in the British army and Scottish émigrés continued the practice of celebrating Highland culture by establishing Highland games in foreign countries. Events staged overseas continue to present cultural representations of Scotland by emulating Scottish traditions through performances of indigenous sport, music and dancing competition. While this thesis focuses on Scotland the transient cultural importance of Highland games cannot simply be ignored. Documentation exists which records the migration of Scots in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which led to the transnationalisation of culture as immigrant Scots retained elements of Highland culture through the creation of new events.

2.3.2 The transnationalisation of Highland games

In a desire to preserve Highland traditions of culture and music, many Highland games were established overseas where Scots settled and made their home. Many Scots were forced to emigrate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to the Highland Clearances[24] and other push factors such as loss of a traditional way of life, poverty and limited economic opportunity due to land reformation (Prebble, 1963). Settling mainly in North America, Canada and Australia (Lynch, 1996) colonial Scots wanted to preserve a traditional Highland way of life through recreating the distant culture and heritage of rural communities left behind.

Emanating from its Scottish roots as a traditional athletic or sporting event since around 1820 (Grant, 1961; Jarvie, 1989,1991), one of the key drivers of the creation and continuity of Highland games that has helped to maintain a presence in Scotland and overseas is the global diaspora of Scottish migrants. Estimates of at least 20,000, perhaps as many as 40,000, left Scotland for North America from 1760–1775 which is a substantial proportion of the Highland population (Calloway, 2008). In subsequent years Cohen (1997) suggests that from 1814–1914, 17 million migrants emigrated from the UK, 80% destined for the USA along with the Dominions and other outposts of the British Empire. Many events were established in North America during the mid-1800s (Jarvie, 2000) as Scots emigrants sought to enjoy Highland culture through music, dance and sport (Grant, 1961: Jarvie, 1991). Following the migration of Scots to North America there is a clear period of increasing numbers of Highland games established in the 1860s, 40 years after beginning to make an impact in Scotland (Donaldson, 1986). As the events spread overseas the Oxford Companion to Scottish History (2001) proposes the Emigration Advances Act of 1851[25], during the time of Queen Victoria, may also have contributed to the movement of migrants and aided in the development of Highland games in foreign countries. In 2012 the Scottish Government

[24] Many of the Estate owners in the Highlands removed the people from their land, many of whom emigrated to Canada and USA; the removal of people from their land by Estate owners marked the shift away from traditional crofting to extensive sheep production

[25] Emigration of Advances Act 1851 formalised the ability of landlords to borrow public funds to pay the cost of emigration of their tenants, mainly to North America and Australia

proposed there were more than 50 million people with Scottish ancestry living outside Scotland worth a potential £2.4 billion to ancestral tourism (Tourism Intelligence Scotland, 2012).

Many Highland games were developed overseas through the formation of Friendly Societies and Highland Societies (Webster, 1973, 2011). This resulted in the spread of Scottish rural games all over the world to remote corners of the British Empire where exiled Scots settled (Brander, 1992); contributing to the growth of Highland games and gatherings in Canada and the USA (Donaldson, 1986; Jarvie, 1989). Similar Societies were also set up in New Zealand with the first, the Dunedin Caledonian Society, established in 1863 (Bueltmann, 2010; Webster, 1973). All these societies had a similar objective which was to preserve Scottish customs and traditions.

Given the contribution of the Scottish diaspora to the British Imperial growth and Dominion workforce, the cultural contributions and identity which the Highland games offered helped to fulfil a desire to keep Highland traditions, dress, culture and music alive. Other notable events and Scottish cultural celebrations such as Burns' Night[26] (Bueltmann, 2012; Rigney, 2011) and Hogmanay[27] (Douglas, 2011; Mair and Frew, 2011) also represent the significant contribution made by many communities with strong Scottish roots. One notable location is Dunedin in New Zealand, which maintains a rich and diverse Scottish culture and local brand of Scottishness (Bueltmann, 2010).

It is interesting to note that when writing in 1937, Macdonnell was rather critical of the exportation of Highland games, considering this to attribute to a loss of Scottish culture and tradition as events became a more commercial venture when staged overseas; and far removed form the initial migrants who started Highland games as a reminder of their culture and heritage and a way to remember Scotland. Contrastingly, Beacom (1998) proposes that within a transnational context, indigenous sports events have a traditionally strong national focus and provide an opportunity to share cultural heritage. Many

[26] Burns' night refers to the celebrations held in Scotland and elsewhere to celebrate the birthday of Robert Burns

[27] In Scotland, Hogmanay refers to New Year's Eve and the celebrations that take place at this time

Highland games have been established in North America and over time have naturally evolved to celebrate different aspects of Scottishness, perhaps in an effort to re-enforce Scottish culture. Events staged in Scotland do not have the same challenges.

Although transported from Scotland to foreign soil, over time American events have evolved in meaning and content with increasing focus on the link between national identity and place (Beacom, 1998). The emphasis is focused on Scottish links and nationality due to many Scottish Americans feeling more connected to Scotland than America (Timothy, 2011). It has even been suggested that Highland games staged overseas are more traditional than those staged in Scotland (Jarvie, 2000), although that suggestion is likely to be opposed by many native Scots associated with Highland games.

Unlike Scottish events, Clan societies have a strong presence at many Highland games in North America where a symbiotic relationship has evolved through interdependency for support and growth. Many Clan Societies sponsor Highland games and use the events as a national meeting place (Donaldson, 1986). Admittedly in Scotland Clan Societies and meetings are more accessible, which is perhaps the reason the Clan element has generally not been pursued within events in Scotland. However, there are a few exceptions, notably Aboyne Highland Games which actively promotes a Clan presence.

One element of Highland games and gatherings the Americans instigated was *'kirkin o' the tartan'*, a service which takes place either at the site of the games or at a local church where pieces of tartan are piped into the church or on to the site of the service to be blessed. Initiated by the St Andrew's Society of Washington D.C in 1941 the service has been adopted and incorporated into many individual games in America (Donaldson, 1986). Donaldson (1986) proposes that this service has become institutionalised at some Scottish events, however throughout this current research there is no evidence of this practice in Scotland. None of the interviewees that were part of the data collection process for this study were aware of a *'kirkin o' the tartan'* service at any of the Scottish events (see Chapter 7).

Novelty events have always been an integral part of many Highland games in Scotland (Webster, 2011) and recorded as taking place from early times, thought to have been introduced at games to attract larger audiences and increase competitor numbers (Ray, 2001). In America, novelty events are included as an integral part of the event and competitors compete in events such as haggis hurling, bonniest knees, the kilted mile and different tossing events such as rolling pins, beer kegs, brooms and frying pans (Donaldson, 1986). Less traditional competitive activities at American games are described by Jarvie (2006: 316) as '*bizarre inventions',* including a Border collie contest, the Clan challenge, the kirkin' o' the tartan and the golf classic. Jarvie (2006: 317) raises the question as to *'what exactly is being celebrated at these American-Scottish Highland games?'*

Scottish events remain relatively unchanged with a focus on the competitive activity, steadfastly remaining traditional to core competitive elements of athletic activity, music and dance. There are many parallels between Highland games staged in Scotland and the USA, none more so than the original traditional content. Admittedly, there are variations as individual events evolved both in Scotland and overseas. However, the key traditional competitive events of athletics, bagpipe music and Highland dancing remain integral to the ethos and content of contemporary events.

2.4 Traditional Competitive Activities

The variety of athletic competition at Highland games can be extensive and may vary depending on geographical landscape, available facilities or quite simply how the events have evolved over time. The distinctive content of individual events across Scotland contributes to the unique local variations of competitive content in existence today.

Different regions of Scotland have traditionally favoured regional and local sporting activities as variations in sporting types evolved across the country (Tranter, 2007). One constant theme of Highland games is that the core competitive content has varied little over time, although even contemporary events reflect the historical regional variations of athletic content offered by Gibson (1882) and Tranter (2007).

Informal events were taking place within the agrarian environment (Airth Highland Games Committee, 1984; Brander, 1992; Jarvie, 1991; Webster, 1973) where rural workers competed against each other using suitable and accessible implements and tools. Many sporting activities incorporated into these events were distinctive in their own right, such as hill running (Brander, 1992), throwing the stone and tossing the caber[28] (Jarvie, 1989) providing enjoyment for locals, visitors and competitors. These informal events incorporated friendly competitive rivalry between farmers or local teams, strengthening social cohesion (Gibson, 1882; Jarvie, 2000, 2003; Ross, 2014) by bringing communities together as *'Games were woven into the social fabric of country life'* (Webster, cited in Donaldson, 1986; 10) and the main purpose of the events was for Lairds, clansmen, crofters and shepherds to meet on equal terms (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927).

Old event programmes and recorded literature are a good source of information pertaining to competitive activities. For example, it is recorded at the Airth event in 1890 contests included a knitting competition, boat skulling, cyclists and pipers as well as trotting[29] (horses) and quoiting, originally a game preferred by miners (Airth Committee, 1984) or the peasantry classes (Tranter, 1987). In Victorian times competitive events included the triple jump or hop, skip and jump and its many variants: eight hops and a jump or ten steps and a jump which produced more opportunities for betting (Burnett, 1995), traditionally a pastime of the working classes. Although competition can be fierce between competitors, there are some events such as Ceres where the competition is fun-based rather than directed towards competing at the highest possible standards. Evidence of the camaraderie and bonhomie between competitors is described as good humoured rivalry where competitors are frank and honourable as proposed by Gibson (1882) and Ross (2014).

Highland games are generally staged within a central arena although some events hold Highland dancing competitions in a separate arena depending on the number of competitors. Smaller Highland games are more likely to have the

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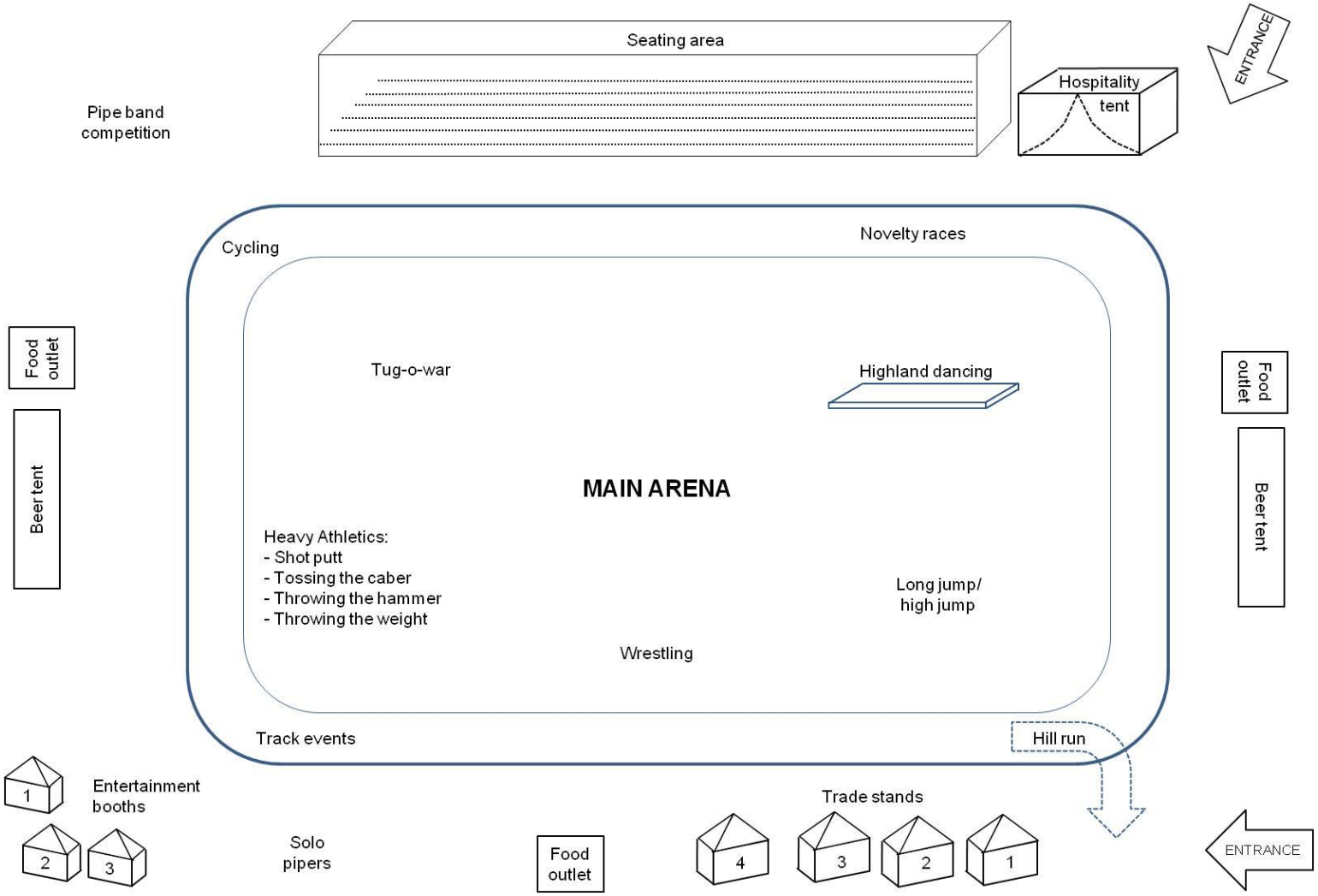
[28] Tossing the caber is an event where a tree trunk, called the caber, is thrown upright, end over end, by one man, in an attempt to land the tree trunk at '12 o'clock'

[29] Trotting is a form of harness racing where horses race pulling a two wheeled cart

capacity within the arena for most events other than where there are large numbers of competitors. There are generally three types of piping activity taking place, pipe bands and solo piping competitions and the piper playing for the Highland dancers. It stands to reason that it is necessary to distance the piping activity to prevent influencing the performances. Figure 2.1 below illustrates a basic outline of a typical arena indicating where individual competitive activities may take place and some of the usual ancillary outlets found around the main arena.

In this instance the core competitive activity has been placed within the arena and illustrates the breadth of potential competition that can be found at some events. The content is unique across events although the key components of dancers, bagpipe musicians and heavy athletics are constant.

Figure 2. 1 Example of a Highland games' arena



(Source: author)

2.4.1 Heavy events

The origins of some of the activities within Highland games such as tossing the caber, which is one of the main spectacles at contemporary events, are not easily understood with Grant (1961), Jarvie (2000) and the Oxford Companion to Scottish History (2001) concurring that this activity originated from *'raising the couples*[30]', which is part of the method employed when building a traditional Highland house (Grant, 1961). Another definition from Webster (1973) suggests that tossing the caber has been part of Highland games from very early times and may have links with fertility rites, also suggesting that this form of activity could have been created by people who worked in the woods. Where work involved throwing trees into the rivers to float to their destination downstream, typically of rural workers, the foresters may have created a sport in their leisure time using the trees (Brander, 1992; Webster, 1973).

Colquhoun and Machell (1927) contend that heavy events (defined as trials of strength, such as throwing weights, hammers, stones or cabers) emerged from the clansmen when, in between their normal work of cattle stealing and tending sheep, accessible items and tools were utilised in a competitive manner. Furthermore, stones from rivers or fields, or a blacksmith's hammer, were typical of items used competitively by rural workers (Webster, 2011). These feats of strength continue to be a feature of modern events as the heavy events with the competitors commonly referred to as *'heavies'*.

Some events have their own unique heavy competitions such as competing to lift the *Clach neart* which is *'the stone of strength'* (Brander, 1992) and Taynuilt Highland Games includes a heavy event called the *'Nant Stone'* (Taynuilt Highland Games Programme, 2006). Similarly, Lewis Highland Games promotes a heavy lifting event called *'Clachan Thunga'*, or The Big Stones (Lewis Highland Games Programme, 2006). The distinctive variations are not restricted to specific sporting activity but are extended to unique weight throwing contests evolving from local traditions. Similarly the dimensions of cabers can vary significantly between events.

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[30] In this context, raising the couples, couple is an old Scottish word for rafter

Attracted by the prize money, there are many accounts of heavy event athletes travelling to Australia, America and other countries to compete in Highland games (Allan, 1974; Brander, 1992; Burnett, 1995; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Davidson, 2009; Donaldson, 1901; Donaldson, 2009; McCombie-Smith, 1892; Webster, 2011; Zarnowski, 2005). It should be noted that travelling to multiple events for competition is not restricted to the heavy athletes but because of the notoriety of past heavy event athletes there are numerous records of historical competitive activities. For some, the heavy events are considered the epitome of Highland games.

2.4.2 Other competitive activities

At most traditional Highland games competitive activities include hill runs, back hold wrestling, track and field athletics, cycling, tug o' war, Highland dancing and bagpipe music in the form of solo pipers, pipe bands, or non-competitive massed pipe and drums, which is perhaps a legacy perpetuated when bagpipe music was adopted by Scottish regiments (Webster, 2011). Some traditional events reflect the Celtic culture by awarding medals for reading Gaelic poetry recitals (Redmond, 1982) and may be reflective of Gaelic traditions brought to Scotland by the Scotti (Calloway, 2008; Ray, 2001; Webster, 2011), or competitions for the best dressed man wearing Highland dress (Burnett, 2000). The similarity of contemporary sporting activity is illustrated by a contribution in The Oxford Companion to Scottish History, when in the 1820s one writer describes:

> *…such a hairst-ken celebration at which a party of Celts amused themselves by their extraordinary feats in putting the stone, hopping, leaping and running.*
>
> The Oxford Companion to Scottish History (2001: 290)

Another key competition is Highland dancing which was originally the domain of men where only male dancers competed (Grant, 1961; Newton, 2012; Thomson, 1994) and considered by Colquhoun and Machell (1927) as the main event in earlier games, although Gibson (1882) suggests that Highland dancing was minor competition at Highland games. Contrastingly, nowadays the majority of dancers are female and there are very few male dancers competing

at events. Historically, when Highland regiments had spare time to relax they perpetuated traditional sports of piping and dancing (Brander, 1992), although Webster (1973) contends that Highland dancing emerged from mixed origins; some social dances, others from dancing exhibitions and battle dances.

Many events were organised by Friendly Societies, some specifically formed to hold Highland games such as Peterhead Athletic Club and Banffshire Lower Association whose main purpose was to promote the national games of Scotland, or at Oldmeldrum where young men just wanted to *'try their agility at athletic games'* (Burnett, 2000: 221). Athletic events such as track running, cycling and wrestling have been included in varying degrees over the years although in modern times not all competitions take place at all games. This may be a reflection of sporting traditions and local variations, reflected in regional differences advocated by Tranter (2007). An example of differences can be found in the Lowland Games where horse racing was common place (Oxford Companion to Scottish History, 2001) although is no longer part of contemporary events.

Novelty events have been recorded as taking place from early records and were thought to have been introduced to attract larger audiences (Allan, 1974; Brander, 1992; Webster, 2011) and to increase competitor numbers. In Scotland novelty events include such activities as three legged races (Taynuilt Highland Games Programme, 2006), tilt the bucket (Dornoch Highland Games Programme, 2006) and the barrel race (Tomintoul Highland Games Programme, 2007). There are also obstacle races, sack races, pillow fights, stilt races, best dressed Highlander, a cycling event named '*De'il tak' the hindmost'* that takes place at some events including Inverkeithing and Cupar in Fife (Cupar Highland Games programme, 2007; Inverkeithing Highland Games programme 2006). Topography and geographical location influence some types of activity present at events, indicating how some events have evolved to fit the landscape. Jarvie (1994) recorded that at the North Uist Highland Gathering, there is no caber tossing because there are no trees on the island from which to make a caber and, and as the island has no hills there are no hill races.

Some historical competitive activity no longer takes place and new competitions such as a triathlon at Loch Lomond Highland games (www.llhg.com) and a 10k road race at Forres Highland Games (Forres Highland Games, 2015) have been introduced as events continue to evolve. To cover all variations of competitive activity would be an arduous task. However, the variety of location and content may be one of the eternally endearing and enduring aspects of the games. As the events evolve increasing amounts of literature is available through published event programmes as well as increased consistency in the recording of events and competitors' achievements by the Scottish Highland Games Association (SHGA).

2.5 Establishing the contemporary Highland games

As already established in Section 2.2, Sir Walter Scott was influential in romanticising the Highlands and the Highlanders. This Highlandism appeared to be confirmed when Queen Victoria and Prince Albert became associated with the Grampian region of Scotland after leasing Balmoral Castle in 1848 eventually purchasing the castle in 1852 (Balmoral Castle, 2015). It is proposed that from the time of Queen Victoria's first visit to the Braemar Gathering in 1848 the association with royalty began (Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland, 1994; Burnett, 2000; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Jarvie, 2000; Webster, 1973) bringing the events into popularity and to the Victorians' social calendar (Dunnett, 1973).

It was also during this period that sport became a major driving force for increasing tourism in Scotland (Durie, 2003). A group of individuals travelling to an event was recorded by Knoblauch and Faraday (1859) recounting a journey in 1859 by around 200 members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, when travelling from Aberdeen to Balmoral at the invitation of Queen Victoria. The journey started at 6.00 am travelling by train and horse carriage, returning to Aberdeen at 1.00 am the following morning. In 1866 an event was held to celebrate the coming of age of the heir, the Marquis of Lorne, highlighting the esteem and great affection the Victorians held for the events (Allan, 1974). As the Queen spent time at Balmoral Castle, the phrase 'Balmoralisation' became used to describe the process of *'bonding or social link*

which was reproduced between the reigning monarchy, the Balmoral estate and the Braemar Royal Highland Gathering, in particular but not exclusively' (Jarvie, 1989: 200). Currently, Prince Charles is the chieftain of the Royal British Legion of Mey Highland Games, suggested to be the smallest in Scotland (The Mail on Sunday, 2009) and the Braemar Gathering continues to enjoy royal patronage. Some events still take place on land owned by local lairds[31] or estates, who were traditional patrons of events (Jackson, 1998; Tranter, 1989) and these noble landowners are often involved in Highland games as chieftains or some other official capacity. Some events may select a different chieftain each year whereas others choose the chieftain associated with a title, therefore a Lord or Earl may hold the position of chieftain for many years (Allan, 1974).

Most books written on Scottish Highland games provide some level of historical content, records of competitive activity and accomplishments of élite competitors. For information on the inception of events in Scotland and globally, Webster (2011) provides a well-informed meticulously researched account. Of the hundreds of events taking place in 1938 prior to the Second World War, Webster (1973) suggests that by the end of the War in the 1940s a reduced 200 games continued to operate in Scotland. Some events attempted to restart such as Haddo House, Arnage and Gight, but they survived for only one year before disappearing once again (Allan, 1974). Another example of declining numbers is presented by Lothian (2001) who found where once eight events occurred annually within a ten mile radius in Aberdeenshire, only the two largest survive.

By 1954, with a continuing decline in the number of events held each year, a renowned heavyweight athlete proposed that *'in another 10 years it'll all be finished'* (Allan, 1974: n.p.). Although this did not transpire, individual Highland games were disappearing every year and in 1968, the Scottish Games Association (SGA), later known as the Scottish Highland Games Association, (SHGA) had 24 affiliated members. However, there was an increase to 37 affiliated members by 1974. It is difficult to find information on the extent of events in Scotland, however Allan (1974) provides a decent record of games

[31] Laird is the Scottish word for landowners of large estates

taking place in the early 1970s, and Brander (1992) of events staged in the early 1990s.

2.5.1 Contemporary Highland games: images and associations

Highland games have a long tradition in Scotland in competitive activity and ceremonial content. The imagery of Highland dancers and bagpipe musicians are globally recognised symbols of Scotland which are often employed to promote Scotland to the wider world. Although Highland dancers and bagpipe musicians are not always represented within the context of Highland games, there are very few places outside Highland games where one can enjoy Highland dancing or pipe band competition. This representation of Scotland is often adopted for formal ceremonies and high profile sporting events.

At many cultural celebrations, official state functions and ceremonial occasions, a single piper can often be heard playing a soulful lament or celebratory music. The Commonwealth Games in Glasgow is a recent example of a ceremonial occasion when a lone piper stood atop the roof of the stadium to conclude the closing ceremony (BBC Commonwealth Games, 2014). Many opportunities were taken at the Commonwealth Games to showcase tartan as pipers introduced medal ceremonies and the athletics team wore tartan kilts (kilts for the male competitors and tartan shawls for the female competitors) as part of the uniform for the opening ceremony parade (BBC, Commonwealth Games, 2014). During the opening ceremony, a group of kilted individuals carried a caber shoulder high and at each medal ceremony the medals were offered to the presenting official by tartan clad individuals (BBC, Commonwealth Games, 2014). However, although tartan is a central to Scotland's national dress and there has been a penchant for using tartan as a promotional tool, it has not always been welcome. There is some dissention on the merit of using tartan to promote Scotland internationally (see Section 2.5.2 for further discussion). Perhaps there is a misconception between the association of tartan and Highland games.

It is unfortunate that many challenges faced by contemporary Highland games emanate from within Scotland, as opposed to supporting the positive elements that bring communities together by offering consumptive leisure opportunities.

Some individuals appear determined to divert attention from traditional events to the more commercialised strong man oriented events, as one individual associated with commercial events commented that *"Sadly, some games have poor quality athletes, bad equipment, and poor quality commentary with little crowd interaction. We aim to change that."* (The Herald, 2nd July 2007: 16). Yet the very same commentator is described as passionate about Highland games, nurturing grass root competitions (Carmunnock International Highland Games, 2012) which could be regarded as inconsistent rhetoric. The same individual claimed that '…*Highland games are 'tired' and that 'people are fed up with big, fat guys who lift weights'*[32] (Gillon, 2007). This portrayal of Highland games is not reflective of the multifarious content of the events as there is a much wider range of activities than heavy events, to which this comment alludes. Moreover the comment fails to recognise activities such as track and field athletics, pipe bands and Highland dancing. The idea of *'sexing'* up Highland games (Gillon, 2007) to morph into what would basically be a one dimensional strong man competition is contradictory to the traditional roots and ethos of Highland games. A commercially oriented strong man event promoted as *"the games of ancient Scotland… ….in a back to the future attempt to repackage and revitalise traditional Highland games…"* (Gillon, 2007) did not host the full complement of competition focusing instead on strong man feats of strength. A televised commercial event such as this was financed by EventScotland and Perth & Kinross Council (EventScotland, 2009), perhaps to the detriment of supporting smaller non-televised events that may be experiencing financial difficulties and find great difficulty sourcing relatively little financial support from the public sector (see Section 7.4).

Instead, there appears to be impetus for the public sector to bankroll commercialised strong man oriented events over traditional Highland games. The Scottish government recognises the contribution of Highland games to Scotland's economy by attracting tourists but because the events do not have a regular international competition, sportscotland is unlikely to offer financial support as the events do not really fit under the current remit requirements

[32] This is more descriptive of strong man events than Highland games where competitive activity ranges from music, dance, light track and field athletics, children's events and heavy athletics' events

(sportscotland, 2011). However some small grants may be accessible through the Awards for All scheme operated in partnership with The Big Lottery Fund if no previous applications have been made within the preceding three years (sportscotland, 2015).

Some local authorities have supported Highland games (see Chapter 7) although there appears to be reluctance on the part of the Scottish Government to firmly recognise Highland games and establish a formalised system of funding for organisers to access in times of need. As noted by Ian Grieve, a former president of the SHGA, *'the unique nature of the games mean that they fall between sport and heritage so funding is a problem'* (BBC NE, Orkney and Shetland, 2010). The situation was identified by David Stewart, a Highlands and Islands Labour MSP, who unsuccessfully proposed to ascertain the government body responsible for Highland games (Ross, 2011). At the time of initial investigation, VisitScotland the national tourism body, only listed a few major Highland games events on the VisitScotland website, although in 2014 did produce dedicated Highland games promotional material (VisitScotland, 2014) although a fee had to be paid for inclusion.

A further demonstration of the lack of understanding of annual Highland games was the creation of an event planned to appeal to the Scottish diaspora in 2009. With 4 million Scots in Canada, 1.5 million in Australia and 5 million in the USA (The Scotsman, 25th July 2009) there was hope of a high attendance. Although more than 47,000 attended, the event suffered a huge financial loss in excess of £500,000 (BBC, 2010). The event was promoted as a Clan Gathering and Highland games, to take place in Edinburgh, resulting in some consternation expressed from within the Highland games fraternity, as The Gathering event competed with established events and central government was not prepared to avoid a clash with existing events (personal communication, 2009).

2.5.2 Tartan imagery and Scotland

Events have the ability to project an image celebrating tradition through symbolism (Mayfield and Compton, 1995) where unique landscapes can represent unique imagery (Schneider and Backman, 1996) of a destination and where such images may impact decisions to travel to events (Hall, 1992).

Through enriching the visitor experience, heritage and cultural traditions can be used to promote rural areas (Ritchie, 1984; Getz, 2008). Events such as the Highland games can be used to promote iconic elements of Scotland's culture and heritage. As Jarvie (2000) argues, Highland games often appear in writings pertaining to sport activities which have assisted the promotion of an image of tartan, pipers, and dancers to the rest of the world.

As Ray (2000) proposes that tartan is known internationally as a symbol of Scotland, Lothian (2001) notes that the Scottish Tourist Board (now VisitScotland) moved away from the use of tartan images in promotional literature in preference of landscape and scenery. However, VisitScotland's desire to move Scottish tourism promotion from what it considered to be a tired and over used association with tartan, has been notable. Especially in domestic tourism promotional activity, it would appear the *'Scottish cliché'* of tartan and whisky does not appeal to UK residents (www.heraldscotland). Contrastingly Ray (1998) states that tartan represents a global brand that is internationally associated with Scotland by international travellers and provides a close association with the culture and people of Scotland. Although when referring to the images of Highland culture and Celtic influences which are very much in evidence at Highland games Knox (2008) states that as:

> *…a mainstream image of Scotland, however, does not adequately account for the traditions, heritage and agricultural landscapes of the Lowland regions. These have historically drawn on the rich symbolic resources of the Highlands in promoting themselves as destinations as well as in building regional and national identities.*
>
> Knox (2008: 256)

Arguably, the cultural and heritage origins of the Highland games may not fit with the prevailing notion that Highland games need to be professionalised in order to survive (e.g. DTZ Research, 2007) to such an extent that the core traditions are altered to appeal to a more commercial audience. One of the most appealing attributes of Highland games is the sense of tradition, the uniqueness of individual events and authentic attributes. Imposing a template of professional best practice on organisation and management to be replicated across Scotland would be to the detriment of the distinctiveness of individual events.

The insistence of the Scottish government and its tourism body, VisitScotland, to shy away from the vivid and unique imagery of tartan and Highland games could be argued as misplaced. Perpetuating the inability to place Highland games firmly within a Scottish government department fails to offer Highland games deserved recognition, even when traditional sports and games are recognised by UNESCO as having the ability to form the backbone of communities by bringing people together and creating a bridge between cultures (UNESCO, 2006). DTZ Research was commissioned to study Highland games along with quoits and backhold wrestling; all considered to be indigenous sports of Scotland but somehow managed to omit some of the key competitive activities. William Baxter, the President of the International Federation of Celtic Wrestling, included in a report to UNESO when commenting on the DTZ Research (2007) report stated that the Scottish Government's:

> *…remit was very narrow and refused to consider other comparable activities such as competitive bagpipe playing and dancing. The reason for this (not by the government) was made deliberately narrow in order to diminish the impact such activities would have on any perhaps positive report on traditional sport, as in Scotland they cannot be separated. At one of our largest Highland games 900 dancers and about 1,500 pipers compete in addition to the wrestlers, runners and strongmen.*

(International round Table on the Promotion and Development of Traditional Sports and Games, 2006:2)

2.5.3 Highland games, tartan and bagpipes

Whilst Sir Walter Scott promoted and supported modern tartan and kilts, Trevor-Roper (2008) derides tartan accoutrements as *'invented tradition'* which may be questionable as nearly 200 years after the *'invented tradition'*, tartan remains a symbolic representation of Scotland in contemporary society (Leneman, 1988; Yeoman et al., 2005). There is no doubt a strong association exists between Highland games and cultural images of tartan, bagpipes and indigenous sporting competition. Yet the association has not been deliberately introduced to satisfy the curiosity or expectations of a tourist audience but have evolved over time. Yeoman et al., (2005) suggest that occurrences such as the Scottish diaspora and the history behind overseas events are a reflection of sport as

heritage and a symbol of national identity. Although as Prebble (1988: 364) writes disparagingly:

> *…no other nation has cherished so absurd an image and none perhaps would accept it while knowing it to be a lie. For that monstrous error, the pageantry of Scott and the euphoria of the King's Jaunt were largely responsible.*
>
> Prebble (1988: 364)

This refers to the notion that Scots across Scotland, regardless of their own heritage or culture, are viewed as a nation of people who during their normal business are wrapped in tartan and to this day a notion that many Scots would eschew.

When appointed as chairman of VisitScotland in 2010, Dr Mike Cantlay proposed that sustainability was Scottish tourism's magic asset, proclaiming the uniqueness of Scottish icons as festivals, culture, Loch Ness, Burns, whisky, tartan and golf (www.visitscotland.briefyourmarket.com). Tourism in Scotland represents the nation's identity, values and culture (Yeoman, 2004) providing opportunities to maximise touristic potential. In addition, the DTZ Research (2007) report states that Highland games can be the base for the outdoor culture and heritage tourism market capitalising on the current interest in sport and health activity (www.scotland.gov.uk/: 2014: 14). Webster (2011) supports this point of view and proposes that the competitive sporting activity of Highland games is in line with the Scottish Government's aims to encourage physical activity. Paul Bush acting operations chief of EventScotland stated that Highland games are key drivers of Scottish tourism and *'an integral part of Scotland's cultural landscape'* (Gillon, 2007; n.p.) attributing some importance to the events. When the events are likened to a one dimensional strong man (www.heraldscotland.com event as opposed to the many competitive components of Highland games there is some disconnect and a level of misapprehension of the true scale, communitas and benefits delivered by Highland games. Especially as there are suggestions that Highland games are the second biggest spectator sport in Scotland (www.heraldscotland.com).

There remains a debate concerning historical methods of promoting Scotland through the use of tartan, whisky and shortbread. On one hand there are those

experts,[33] according to the Herald newspaper, who vehemently declare that *'shortbread and tartan don't woo tourists'* (McArdle, 2010) that instead of *'relying on outmoded clichés of tartan and shortbread'* Scotland should be sold on the warmth of the people (McArdle, 2010). The expert postulates that campaigns should avoid the use of tartan, caber tossing and shortcake as clichés as not a true representation of the touristic offerings of Scotland. Nonetheless there are others who stipulate the potential importance tartan imagery can have if undertaken intelligently (Daily Mail, 2009, 25 July).

The chief executive of VisitScotland in 2004 (Phillip Riddle) stated that if tartan and shortbread, the traditional visual promotional tools used to promote Scotland, attracted international visitors they should not be ignored (www.heraldscotland.com, 2004) as multiple themes can be utilised in promotional material. Scotland is well known for its images of tartan so much so that in New York in 1999 the nascent Tartan Day Parade was held (www.tartanweek.com) and has grown into a substantial event that attracts celebrities and is supported by Scottish Clans, Clubs and Societies. The supporters of tartan ask *'what's wrong with tartan and shortbread?*' and argue that a recognisable image is the key to successful marketing (www.scotsman.com, 2004). People know Scotland for its tartan, kilts and whisky (www.scotsman.com, 2004). Peter Lederer, a former chief executive of VisitScotland, was the force to distance Scotland from tartan encouraging headlines such as *'Selling Scotland: the great escape from tartan tourism'* (Frost, 2007). These negative connotations emerging from within Scotland may be picked up by the media with headlines proclaiming *'Scotland's businesses give £400,000 tartan ballyhoo a miss'* (www.caledonianmercury.com). This was a comment relating to the costs accumulated by the Scottish Government when attending Scotland Week in the USA. The contradictory messages emanating from some of the country's leaders are likely to perpetuate some negative connotations associated with tartan by the media.

This view is evident in festivals such as the Tartan Day Parade in New York, held during Scotland Week and heralded as a truly Scottish spectacle where

[33] Business Director for the Edinburgh branch of a marketing firm

Scottish Clans celebrate their heritage and pipe bands parade (www.scotland.org, 2012). Tartan Day is a celebration of Scottish heritage and with 50 million people across the world claiming Scottish heritage (www.scotland.org, 2012) it does seem questionable that tartan and bagpipes should be disconnected from Scotland. One could question the need to disengage Scotland from such familiar and iconic items. However, there is a continuing debate within Scotland with regard to the appeal of tartan to tourists (www.heraldscotland). Meanwhile the Scottish Government recognises that Highland games attract visitors and tourists not only from the UK but also overseas as demonstrated by the enthusiasm to stage The Gathering in 2009 as a part Clan gathering and part Highland games (www.homecomingscotland2009).

The Scottish National Party (SNP) administration changed the Tartan Week name of Scottish celebrations in America to Scotland Week as it was thought this would broaden the appeal of Scotland, even although many Scottish Americans associate bagpipes and tartan with undisputed assertions of Scottish identity (www.scotsman.com, 2008). Decisions to rename Tartan Week in New York to Scotland Week by the First Minister's (Alex Salmond) SNP administration in 2008 to avoid the *'Caledonian cringe'* (The Mail on Sunday 9th March 2008: 12) do not reflect a positive attitude to tartan and arguably, by association, Highland games. Even although National Tartan Day was instigated by the Americans in 1998 (Hague, 2001) to annually celebrate Scottish culture *'after the US Senate unanimously passed a resolution to designate April 6th as Tartan Day in honour of Scotland's contribution to the US'* (The Mail on Sunday, March 9th 2008: 12).

Tartan Days are held in a number of states across America (www.rampantscotland.com) and around the world in South Africa, South America, Argentina, France and the Netherlands (www.tartandayscotland.com). Countries such as Scotland (Arbroath), Australia, New Zealand and Canada (www.rampantscotland.com) and belie the need to remove tartan and bagpipes from promotional material, tartan images could be used alongside other visual imagery such as castles, activities and landscape (www.scotsman.com, 2004). Considering the drive to move away from tartan and bagpipes, it is ironic that

the National Records of Scotland (a Public sector office under the Scottish Government) chose to design a new tartan for the New York Tartan Day Parade (www.tartanweek.com, 2012). The process was repeated when a new tartan was launched in 2013 for the Ryder Cup held in Scotland in 2014 (www.bbc.co.uk, 2013). The contract was awarded by Ryder Cup Europe, however, the First Minister, Alex Salmond was present at the launch of the tartan proclaiming: *"Tartan's importance to Scotland cannot be overestimated. It is deeply embedded in Scottish culture and is an internationally recognised symbol of Scotland…"* (Ryder Cup, 2014). This was subsequent to linking tartan with, the *'Caledonian Cringe.'* and renaming Tartan Week, Scotland Week. In 2014 another new tartan was developed as part of the uniform for the Scottish athletic team at the Commonwealth Games held in Glasgow (BBC news, 2014). Based on the rhetoric and contradiction of politicians and tourism leaders, it is perhaps not surprising that Highland games continue to find difficulty establishing recognition.

As the basis of Scotland's national dress, it seems somehow inappropriate to *'tartan bash'*. This is perhaps symptomatic of a wider negative rhetoric perpetuated by Scottish Government bodies such as VisitScotland and MSPs. Somewhat contradictorily, an unnamed Scottish Government spokesman said: *'…the kilt is deeply embedded in Scottish culture and is an internationally recognised symbol of Scotland. What's more the tartan industry makes a significant contribution to the Scottish economy'* (Walker, The Mail on Sunday, 24th Feb 2008: 7). Meanwhile, Scottish Government ministers pursue a campaign to protect the word *'kilt'* under European law. The successful outcome would be the word *'kilt'* only applied to products hand-sewn in Scotland and made from pure wool (The Mail on Sunday, 24th Feb 2008: 7). Whilst VisitScotland are keen to escape the tartan and shortbread image, Highlands and Islands Enterprise[34] (HIE) acknowledge that traditional and national symbols can attract tourists. Tartan and kilts are synonymous with Highland games and continuously denigrating tartan or kilts may negatively impact on

[34] HIE is the Scottish Government's economic and community development agency for the Highlands and Islands of Scotland

these events rather than embracing their unique cultural features. Referring to Highland games and links to tartan McCall Smith proposes that:

> *It would be easy to sneer at Highland games and some do. They are wrong: for most people at this little set of games (Morvern Highland Games) in Morvern, it's all about community and tradition and a vague sense of belonging to something. If it affirms identity, with the pipe bands and the tartan and the caber-tossing – Caledonian clichés of the most resounding variety – then it does so in a way that is generous and unthreatening. It is also about how a rather fragile society, far from the opportunities of the Scottish cities, can enjoy itself…*
>
> McCall Smith (2013: 54)

There can be advantages for destinations to increase tourism spending by staging unique cultural events reflective of country or place. Increasingly government policies develop event and tourism strategies such as *Scotland the Perfect Stage*, (Event Scotland, 2009) in an effort to promote not only specific events but in the case of Scotland an attempt to promote the country as a favourable event and tourism destination. Highland games already present an advantage due to the unique cultural content associated with music, dance and indigenous sport. Modern athletics and activities associated with events and festivals such as entertainment booths and trade stands are generally present, providing many different types of opportunities for leisure consumption. Most of the events are self-sustaining operating on a not-for-profit basis generally requiring minimum assistance, if any, from central government.

After establishing the evolution of Highland games the latter part of this chapter reviewed the argument for supporting tartan imagery and by association, Highland games. The final part of the discussion pertaining to the dithering and inability of politicians and tourism leaders to support tartan and more importantly, Highland games contributes to the third objective to explore the internal and external challenges faced by the organisers of Highland games. As part of an event strategy, Highland games have many advantages, not least because there are multiple accessible events from mid May to mid September providing numerous opportunities for locals, tourists and visitors to enjoy part of Scottish culture.

2.6 Chapter summary

The evolution of Highland games' activities emerging from the agrarian rural environment and battlefield activities offers form to Highland games as a competitive event. Many of the cultural and symbolic elements of Highland games emerge from the failed attempt by the Scots to re-instate a king to Scotland in the 1700s. The resulting aftermath instigated the transnationalisation of Highland games as Scottish migrants transported elements of Highland culture and tradition overseas, in particular, to North America where many events were established. It appears that during this period Highland games became inextricably linked with tartan as a main feature of the national dress of Scotland and adopted as competitive attire by some competitors. The relationship between tartan and its presentation as a national symbol of Scotland was reinforced when Sir Walter Scott used the king's visit to Scotland in 1822 as an opportunity to encourage all involved in the celebrations and festivities to wear tartan. The competitive activities were addressed and the Highland games established, becoming popularised in the Victorian era. Contemporary events divide opinion in relation to the negative connotations associated with tartan and the projected symbolism and use of tartan as a promotional instrument for Scotland. There are arguments that describe tartan as a cliché not representative of a modern Scotland yet others argue that as tartan is globally recognised and synonymous with Scotland it is foolish to attempt to disengage Scotland and tartan.

Highland games have been set within a leisure environment where the production and consumption of leisure is shared between organisers and spectators. The following chapter reviews relevant leisure and event literature pertaining to sport, tourism, volunteers and culture and is addressed with a social capital theoretical foundation.

3 Literature review: Highland games: culturally themed traditional sport and competition

The previous chapter explored the background and context of Highland games to uncover the historical traditions and culture of a modern phenomenon. The aim of Chapter 3 is to explore academic literature that contributes to understanding the Highland games within the parameters of this study.

Therefore, this study incorporates a discussion on topics central to Highland games encompassing events, sport and tourism in association with travel patterns of members of the audience. Key elements of community, culture, and transported culture precede a review of literature pertaining to authenticity and public support for culturally themed events. The final section introduces the concept of social capital and events

The topics follow key themes related to the research objectives stated in Chapter 1. Event tourism is the key concept of the second objective with literature found within the topics of event and sport tourism, supported by the spatial and temporal movement of people and event visitation. Public support can have a significant impact on community events which relates to the third objective linked with external challenges. While the discussion around community centred events and volunteers is associated with the internal and external challenges of the third objective. Finally, the section on social capital is linked to the fifth objective topic to explore if Highland games contribute to building social capital.

This chapter begins by exploring the field of leisure as a suitable setting for events situated within a leisure context since it is appropriate to place Highland games within the overarching context of leisure. Leisure is a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing numerous activities that fall within a myriad of theoretical approaches which can be employed to underpin the fields of tourism, events and sport as explored by a range of authors such as Getz (2012), Page and Connell (2012), Weed (2012) Hall and Page (2009), Parker (1999) and Coppock (1982). Leisure has assorted meanings for different people although it

is generally accepted that leisure is time that remains after all obligations have been met and individuals can choose how that time is spent (Bull et al., 2003) and may consist of rest, relaxation, escape and distraction (Baudrillard, 2005). Therefore it is fitting to consider attending events as a form of leisure activity and organising events as a leisure volunteering pursuit.

The study of events is not new and the classification and typologies of events is extensive. Therefore the section on the difficulties of extending typologies to specific themes and purpose of events precedes the links and associations of Highland games, sport and tourism. The formation of event and sport tourism strategies is increasingly important to communities, destinations and political forces, with interest in research associated with sports, event and tourism gaining prominence in academic enquiry following studies by Getz and McConnell (2011), Gibson (1998), Green and Jones (2006), Hinch and Highman (2005), Jamieson (2014), Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010), Scott and Turco (2007), Standeven and de Knopp (1999), Ziakas and Costa (2010) and Weed (2008). Sports events are also a subject of increasing relevance and importance especially with the competitive tendering processes for prestigious mega and major events such as the Commonwealth Games or Ryder Cup which were held in Scotland in 2014 (www.eventscotland.org/). Event tourism is a central theme to address the second objective.

There are some studies that focus on the movement of individuals from point of origin to event destination (e.g. Liang et al., 2008; Petterson and Zillinger, 2011) which are topics worthy of further exploration and an area of literature contributed to by this thesis. Therefore, the spatial and temporal movement of travel to events and frequency of visitation follows the sport tourism themes and addresses the event tourism objective.

The subsequent section reviews the nature of culture, sport and authenticity in terms of cultural content and public support for community based events. As outlined in Chapter 2 the cultural content of Highland games is compelling; the discourse continues with an exploration of culturally themed events along with the significance and importance of the transnationalisation of events through exported culture. The following section addresses public support for cultural events prior to consideration extended to volunteers of community centred

events. The cultural theme of the events combined with the sporting content have some bearing on the third objective related to challenges faced by the organisers of the events.

Following the initial studies by Putman (1993), the manifestation of social capital within sports events has gained momentum, particularly within regular sporting events (Jarvie, 2003; Seippel, 2006; Tonts, 2005; Gibson, 1998; Zakus, Skinner and Edwards, 2009) where interaction may occur between opposing fans or supporters. Therefore the chapter concludes by defining the early conception and development of social capital associated with community and sports events. The final section of this chapter is determined by the theoretical underpinning of social capital with a discussion around the evolution of social capital theory related to group membership associated with sport and events. This section addresses the fifth objective to explore evidence of social capital at Highland games with a discussion following the creation and development of networks along with related links to bonding and bridging social capital; where bonding social capital is associated with networks and group membership with bridging social capital extending to the wider macro environment.

The available literature on Scottish Highland games tends to have a central theme and singular focus, such as a particular event or athlete. The nature and complexity of the events can be captured within many topics of academic literature which is reflected in the thematic content of the literature review.

The following section introduces leisure as an overarching concept prior to exploring the expansion of event literature and introducing the complexities related to event typologies specifically in relation to sport and event tourism. The discussion then focuses on the spatial and temporal movement of people travelling to events and event visitation patterns. Thereafter the literature pertaining to cultural events and the transnationalisation of culture is discussed along with links to sport, authenticity and public sector support. The penultimate section of the chapter places the events within the community and volunteer organisers. Finally, the last section explores the concept of social capital as the theoretical foundation incorporating discussion around exclusivity, events, group membership and links to bonding and bridging social capital.

3.1 The importance and context of leisure

The development of leisure as a field of study has seen a dramatic growth since the 1960s (Page and Connell, 2010) and has become increasingly important to modern society as forms of leisure activities increase and become more accessible. Leisure is an important concept in the modern world and is a growing area of interest for many scholars and governments, as indicated by the UK Government's Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) which states that:

> *Our aim is to improve the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities, support the pursuit of excellence, and champion the tourism, creative and leisure industries.*
>
> (Department of Culture Media and Sport, 2013)

One area of leisure research relevant to this thesis is set within a social context. In the 1950s, Veblen (1953) addressed the *'theory of the leisure class,'* identifying a section of society that passed their time in a leisurely manner rather than in *'productive'* employment. Later texts approached the study of leisure within relatively constricted frameworks, applying leisure to known limited leisure categories (e.g. Neumeyer and Neumeyer, 1953; Parker, 1976) while Rapoport and Rapoport (1975) and Kelly (1983) focused on social aspects of leisure in relation to the changing stages of a family environment and leisure activities when interacting with different social groups. It is within this social context that event participants may be found choosing to spend their time at Highland games while seeking social interaction and shared experiences.

As mass leisure activities became more common, Seabrook (1998) extended the concept of the leisure class to a leisure society with the implication that leisure activities were not restricted to a minority but extended to a larger proportion of the population. The increase in participation of mass leisure activities has stimulated broader discussion within a scholarly field, with authors such as Blackshaw (2009, 2010), Bull Hoose and Weed (2003), Haywood, Kew, Bramham, Spink, Capenhurst and Henry (1995), Henry (2001), Page and Connell (2010), Roberts (1999, 2004), Rojek (1989, 2010), Stebbins and Graham (2004), Taylor (2011) and Torkildsen, (2005) making significant

contributions. Increasing academic focus on leisure led to the development of the Leisure Studies Association (www.leisurestudies.org/) to promote academic study of leisure, publishing its own leisure studies journal and the Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education (www.heacademy.ac.uk/). Although there has been an increase in leisure themed scholarly activity, Blackshaw (2010) argues that much of the study of leisure lacks theoretical content, where facts are preferred through key conceptualisations being derived from the community, identity, social capital and sport rather than a robust theoretical base.

As the formation of sub-divisions of leisure continues to grow, there are increasing references to passive and active leisure activities (Haywood et al., 1995; Kelly, 1996 and Rojek 1989). Haywood et al. (1995) refer to passive leisure activities as an experience provided by others whereas active leisure refers to people actively involved in the production of the experience. Parker (1979) sub-divided active leisure into activities such as sport and culture which would force Highland games into one or other of the categories rather than a combination of both. As the scope of leisure opportunities continue to increase and develop, it is likely that sub-divisions and alternative categories will continue to emerge as attempts are made to capture and clearly define increasing forms of leisure types. General leisure activities warrant some exploration in order to gain a clearer understanding of the challenges and opportunities people face in their quest for the production and consumption of leisure products and services. Leisure is increasingly linked to events and event studies (Patterson and Getz, 2013) and sport tourism in association with serious leisure (Getz and McConnell, 2011; Green and Jones, 2006). As Patterson and Getz (2013) explore the nexus of leisure and event studies within real world practice, Getz and McConnell (2011) and Green and Jones (2006) debate the association between sport tourism, serious leisure and event travel careers where the nexus of serious leisure, events and sport tourism increase the dimensions of academic studies (Getz and McConnell, 2011; Stebbins, 2004).

Highland games are predominantly staged by volunteers as active leisure producers (Haywood et al., 1995), working within the community. Spectators

attending events are the consumers participating in leisure activities which may include tourist activity. Volunteering is of major importance as a facet of event organisation where people actively choose to donate their time, skills and experience to support a project or activity which otherwise could not be resourced (see e.g. Barron and Rihova, 2011; Baum and Lockstone, 2007; Solberg, 2003).

There are strong links associated with the notion of formal volunteering or serious leisure according to Blackshaw (2010: 43) who states that leisure plays a largely integrative function and as such should be understood as *"a vehicle for the cultural and moral reaffirmation of communities as places in which the individual recognises relations of belonging"'* Highland games are likely to appeal to a specific group of people for whom the distinctive and unique appeal of these events can be a vehicle for creating a sense of belonging within specific communities defined as *'communitas'* (Chalip, 2006; Getz, 2012; Jarvie, 2003). The context of serious leisure particularly relevant to Highland games associated with volunteers is aptly described by Stebbins (2004) who defines serious leisure as:

> *The systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that participants find so substantial and interesting that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a career centred on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge and experience.*
>
> Stebbins (2004: cited in Taylor, 2011: 145)

On the other hand, casual leisure is considered to provide immediate, short term intrinsic rewards and may emerge in specialised forms of leisure where people have a common interest such as event audiences.

To differentiate between the roles that volunteers play in leisure sectors, it is relevant to discern between casual and serious forms of leisure participation developed by Stebbins (2004). Casual volunteering requires very little or not special training to enjoy (Stebbins, 1997) and is mainly consumptive according to Blackshaw (2010). Whereas the term *'serious leisure'* can be interchangeable with formal volunteering, proposes (Taylor, 2011) where there can be similarities with volunteering as continuous engagement, serving on

committees or associations whilst gaining a sense of fulfilment from work efforts (Roberts, 2004). If the commitment by volunteers increases the longer they are involved with the event Elstad (2003) advocates this type of commitment as a form of serious leisure. This was found by Ross (2011) where some active committee members of Highland games had been serving members for 20 years or more (see Chapter 7).

Organisers work together to stage an event within a socially engaging environment to provide enjoyment and entertainment opportunities for leisure consumption by audiences that may involve some form of tourist activity.

3.2 The expansion of events literature

As the number and type of sporting events increase, touristic activity around events may also increase, bringing the themes of event, sport and tourism together. In turn this has led to an expansion in event studies as events become the primary reason for travelling to a region or destination (Getz, 2013). Events can have economic and socio-cultural benefits for community residents, a location for entertainment and socialisation drawing people to an area that may otherwise have little to attract them (Holloway, Humphries and Davidson, 2009). Events also provide opportunities for celebration for locals and visitors (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Getz, 1991).

The expansion of events literature may be reflective of the increasing use of events as a means to promote destinations and the proclivity for the variation of event themes. There is a plethora of academic literature on events beginning with some of the earlier studies by authors such as Boorstin (1973) who addressed the pseudo event phenomenon, development of hallmark themes by Hall (1984) to more contemporary studies (Getz, 2013). Events are of limited duration (Jago and Shaw, 1998; Light, 1996), temporary and unique (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Jago and Shaw, 1998), transforming place to unique temporal spaces. Many festivals and sports events have a long history and countless events that traditionally celebrate seasonal and key calendar moments are a vital component of the events industry (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Raj and Vignali, 2010).

It is likely that many leisure events emerged for the enjoyment of the local population according to Roberts (2004) although as a predominantly community event, Brewster et al., (2009) found that even small events such as Highland games have the ability to attract non-locals. Community events are capable of promoting social cohesiveness whilst at the same time preserving culture and tradition.

Many events are created to serve a particular purpose such as generating revenue by broadening appeal to reach a wider audience, or to achieve social and cultural goals that benefit local communities through increasing tourism and visitor numbers. Yet studies at local level, such as community events, are relatively scarce according to Pettersson and Zillinger (2011) and Taylor (2011), especially events associated with indigenous activities (Mair and Whitford, 2013). Taylor (2011) proposes that although community events may be important locally, having the ability to *'integrate diverse communities, increase awareness and promote all kinds of organisations and their objectives,'* (Taylor, 2011: 538-539), local events are unlikely to receive the kind of media attention favoured by major, hallmark or mega events (Gursoy et al., 2004). Many studies favour exploring the economic benefits of events with few studies dedicated to social or cultural issues.

There have been many attempts to create classifications and typologies of events. However, so many typologies of events straddle numerous categories that it is impossible to develop definitive categories for all event themes. Categories are not mutually exclusive (Getz, 2011), as with Highland games the event is simultaneously a community event and a sporting event with cultural themes of music and dance (Brewster et al., 2009). It is not the intention to definitively categorise Highland games but rather to highlight the complexities and difficulties experienced when attempting to fit Highland games into a specified academic typology.

3.2.1 Event typologies

Academics often create categories of events and construct event typologies to understand and differentiate between different *'types'* of events, frequently using the reason or purpose of the event as a key theme. Ritchie (1984)

developed the term '*hallmark'* to describe one-off or recurring events although the term does not offer any indication of theme. In this context the term was associated with an internationally recognised event often connected with place, such as Wimbledon, and is a term that continues to feature in event literature. In a similar theme Getz (1997) and Golblatt (1997) referred to events as *'special'* to suggest the event was something other than a regular every day occurrence. Applied by Getz (1997) when events marked *'a unique moment in time celebrated with ceremony and ritual to satisfy specific needs'* (Getz, 1997: 4).

Superficially the term *'special event'* refers to one off special occasions or events of infrequent occurrence, which are out of the ordinary and offer a social experience according to Jago and Shaw (1998). The problem with such a simple definition is that it does not accommodate the type and disparate nature of events in contemporary society. Remaining within a broader context Gelder and Robinson (2010) suggest that collectively special events may refer to non-routine occasions or celebrations where individuals have the opportunity to socialise, be entertained or where a group of people may be challenged.

Events may be distinguished by size in a general sense such as mega events, medium events or hallmark events (Ritchie, 1984) where there is little to differentiate between the events in relation to themes. However, classifying the events by size or scale does provide some context. Reference to the scale of events has been extended by Dimmock and Tiyce (2001) who include community events as smaller in size and scale to the aforementioned. The size and scale of events has been further differentiated by determining how broad an appeal the event may have. For example, mega events such as Olympic Games are classified as spectator events where the event is likely to attract proportionally more spectators than participants (Taks et al., 2009). In addition Gratton and Taylor (2000) propose that mega events are more likely to attract travellers with a specific purpose to attend the event. Whereas for Gratton and Taylor (2000) medium sized events are likely to attract a more balanced number of competitors and spectators or where participants may outnumber spectators and appeal to a more localised audience. Furthermore, Dimmock and Tiyce (2001) consider community events to be small in size and scale and have

specific aims and objectives to appeal to a local audience. In recent years events have become not only differentiated by size or type but also by audience (for example whether the event can attract international tourists or has a more localised appeal). Even when separating the events by size, further discussion on themes presents a more refined typology.

When applying a theme to an event much of the event literature shares common ground, although there may be variances in the number of themes and how the themes are presented. Early attempts to classify, or develop typologies of events began to emerge that served to distinguish between different themes in relation to the tangible components of the events (Getz, 1989). When attempting to differentiate between themed events the process becomes complicated with the increasing number of event themes.

Typical themes or reasons for events are grouped as social, political, cultural, economic and environmental by Dimmock and Tiyce (2001) and Mayfield and Compton, 1995). Whereas Nilbe et al., (2014) have a slight variation and classify events by type, size and function and suggest the themes are generally divided into five groups of cultural, political and governmental, arts and entertainment, sports and scientific. Getz (2007) differentiates between event forms and includes cultural celebrations, political and state events, arts and entertainment, meetings and conventions, education and scientific events, sports events and recreational events.

This highlights the complexities encountered when attempting to match themed events with a typology as authors may choose to approach the process from different perspectives. Typically festivals are held on streets and accessible to everyone propose McKercher et al., (2006) although similar challenges are encountered when generalising festivals as having a festive character of public celebration (de Bres and Davis, 2001). A broad generalisation that is not reflective of the variety, type and theme of festivals. Interestingly Chhabra (2003) refers to Highland games as festivals although in most cases the events are held in a designated space and often charge entrance fees, therefore do not conform to the description provided by McKercher et al., (2006).

Events are extremely diverse spanning a broad spectrum of typologies ranging from sporting competitions (Getz, 2011; Taylor, 2011; Watt, 1998), cultural celebrations (Getz, 2011, Shone and Parry, 2010; Taylor, 2011) and political (Getz, 2011; Taylor, 2011). Watt (1998) includes Royal Tournaments as an optional theme. Somewhat arbitrarily Shone and Parry (2010) include leisure events as a typology and Getz (2011) similarly includes recreational events, whereas the leisure and recreational aspect of events relating to participation and socialisation are considered prerequisite by Gelder and Robinson, (2010), Jago and Shaw (1998) and Smith and Forest (2009).

There may be instances when classifications are not mutually exclusive according to Getz (2011) when events may straddle multiple typologies and there is a blurring of event types (Getz, 2012). A typical example is Highland games that are simultaneously a community, sporting and cultural event (Brewster et al., 2009). The bewildering array of typologies may also be influenced and subject to interpretation based on one's viewpoint (Getz, 1989). As expressed by Gelder and Robinson (2010) it is impossible to provide a definition for all event types. Where sport, tourism and culture co-exist within an event there are classification issues making it difficult to classify into standard academic category of either sport or culture (Ziakas and Costa, 2010).

In order to overcome the complexity and ardour of classifying events Lunt (2012) proposes employing discourse analysis of events as an alternative to the development of typologies where the content and those who take part *'present'* the theme. Although Mair and Whitford (2013) propose that events have been comprehensively researched and unlikely to provide new information on typologies. There has been some debate around the concepts of sport tourism and the way the field is described (Weed, 2009) furthermore, Gammon (2012) expresses that there is no definitional conformity and no unified definition of what constitutes a sports event.

As a general theme Highland games have been classified as a sporting event by Jackson (1998), Jarvie (1991, 2000, 2006, 2003b), Tranter (1987; 1989, 1998), culture (Brewster et al., 2009; Jarvie, 1989), community (Brewster et al., 2009; Jarvie, 2003a) and heritage by Chhabra et al., (2003). Rather than classifying the events within a specific theme Jarvie (1991) placed Highland

games on a timeline within the context of historical and social development rather than thematic content. Although not absolutely precise by date, the events were placed across four eras. The first stage relates from at least the 11th century until about 1750 *'when games had their origins within the patriarchal-feudal set of social relations surrounding the clan'* (McCrone et al., (1999; 58). The second era returns to around 1740 until about 1850 which was a period of great social change in the Highlands following the Battle of Culloden and mass migration of Highlanders to North America, as well as the king's visit to Scotland in 1822 (Jarvie, 1991). The third era took place between 1850 and 1920 when the Highlands became a playground for the sporting élite (Lothian, 2001; McCrone, 1999) and during the last stage from around 1920 (and continuing) when the events became more standardised with rules (Jarvie, 1991; McCrone, 1999) and the Scottish Games Association (SGA) was established (Lothian, 2001).

When Lothian (2001) categorised contemporary Highland games the events were once again placed along a timeline into four categories. *'Traditional Games'* were established before or during the reign of Queen Victoria, *'Modern Games'* established in the same period but included non-traditional events. The next era encompassed *'Community Tourism Games'* established or re-established since 1970 with one of the objectives to appeal to tourists. Finally, there were the *'Commercial Tourism Games'* established or re-established since 1985 by commercial operators motivated by profit who were unlikely to be members of the community (Lothian, 2001). It appears that the historical evolution through social changes is driving the classification of Highland games rather than a specific theme.

The thematic content of events may be the driving force for developing typologies although events can also be categorised by size and scale where community events and mega events may be found at opposite ends of a continuum. Arguably sports themed events may be easy to define although as demonstrated by the Highland games, typologies are not so clearly delineated with a multi-layered event where music, dance, sport and culture are present in a single event. Indeed, Hinch and Higham (2005) propose that rather than a

singular sports theme, sports events can be a unique form or tourist attraction that reflects the culture in a destination.

3.2.2 Events, sport and tourism: exploring the links

The interest in relationships between tourism and sporting events has been increasing in recent years, contributing to the growing expanse of academic literature relating to sport and events tourism. As the breadth and range of knowledge expands so does the focus on the interconnecting relationships and benefits of these key themes.

The interest in event tourism and sports events can be used to stimulate tourism activity as new sporting activities emerge. Research into sports events ranges from mega events such as the Olympic Games (Karkatsoulis et al., 2005) or hallmark events such as Wimbledon (Gibson et al., 2003; Hall, 1992) and there is no doubt that more research has been conducted at high profile events. This is most likely due to the ability of large international sports events to command high levels of media coverage, acting as a catalyst for local and national economic development and regeneration policies (Masterman, 2004). Sports and tourism play a major role in bringing people together (Jamieson, 2014).

Getz (2003) suggests mass participation events such as marathons or major sports events attracting élite athletes may be the main motivator for domestic and international travel that contributes to sport tourism (Kaplanidou and Gibson, 2010). However, although smaller events with non-élite less familiar athletes are unlikely to attract the same high levels of spectators or participants (Hinch and Higham, 2005; McKercher et al., 2006), they are nonetheless important to the host communities. As a global industry, Candreas and Ispas (2010) suggest that large sports events have the ability to create positive impacts and increase tourism, although Getz (2009) proposes that it cannot be taken for granted that tourists will be attracted to a sports event. Meanwhile Jackson and Glyptis (1992) differentiate between destinations that actively promote sport to potential tourists or where tourism has developed due to some form of sports activity.

Light (1996) contends that interest in event tourism increases as stronger links develop between events and tourism. As expressed by Gelder and Robinson (2010) and Smith and Forest (2009) the idea of combining tourism and events is not a new concept as events and tourism have become intrinsically linked. Conversely Standeven and de Knopp (1999) suggest that sport and tourism relate to entirely different factors that cannot be combined, since sport relates to experiencing physical activity whereas tourism is an experience of travel and place. As academic interest in linkages between event, tourism and sport increases, so too has the somewhat confusing variations in terminology used to describe the act of attending an event whilst on holiday by attempting to make a distinction between events, sport and tourism.

Paolo et al., (2004) suggest applying the term sport tourism when the two distinct industries are combined. Therefore, it appears plausible to assume that any variation in the term of event sport tourism is applicable to individuals travelling to a sports event which requires an overnight stay. However, since the early recognition of sport and tourism, Weed and Bull (2004) propose there are no clear boundaries when defining sport and tourism, and Deery et al., (2004) propose that sport tourism and event tourism are too similar to be separated. Suffice to note, sport tourism is a form of event tourism as proposed by Daniels (2007) where the interrelationship between sport and tourism forms the nexus of event tourism and sport (Jackson and Weed, 2004; Deery, Jago and Fredline, 2004). Furthermore, Gibson (1998) attempts to differentiate between the components by breaking down the issues into three separate elements of:

> *…active sports tourism, where people travel to take part in sport; event sport tourism for people who travel to watch a sports event; and nostalgia sport tourism, which includes visits to sports museums, famous sports venues and sports themed cruise.*
>
> (Gibson, 1998: 45)

The definition provided by Gibson (1998) would apply to many Highland games including nostalgic sports tourists if applied to friends and relatives (VFR) returning home for special sport themed events. As the interest in sports, events and tourism continues to grow, Weed (2009: 615) contests that the lack

of precise definitions is due to *'a lack of coherence in research relating to sports tourism'.* This may be due to attempts to differentiate between motivation for attendance and the multifarious scale of events and frequency from weekly, annually, biannually or even over longer periods. For instance, Gibson et al., (2003) and Neirotti (2005) distinctly refer to fans of regular team and league sports as sport tourists. Robinson and Gammon (2004), Scott and Turco (2007) and Sofield (2003) propose that sports tourists are defined by travelling to compete in sport, whereas Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010) suggest that it is the event sport tourists who travel as competitors.

When considering the movement of people to and from sports events it is not only spectators and competitors that are required to stay overnight, state Deery et al. (2004) and Weed and Bull (2004). Individuals officiating at events may also be participants of sport tourism along with the media and supporting entourages of élite athletes (Hinch and Higham, 2005). A recognised form of sport tourism is attributed to individuals attending events whilst on holiday or the event as the primary motivator to travel that requires overnight accommodation. There are less distinguishable differences in the terms event sport tourism and sports event tourism (Candreas and Ispas, 2010; Scott and Turco, 2007). As Green and Jones (2006) suggest, individuals attending events whilst on holiday are participating in tourism sport whilst Deery et al., (2005) differentiate between individuals unaware of the event prior to arriving in the area as sport tourists. Furthermore, Scott and Turco (2007) suggest that individuals travelling to visit friends and relatives as well as competing should be part of sports event tourism. Sports tourists are not only found at major or international events, as Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010) discovered small scale events can attract sports tourists.

Taks et al., (2009) propose that sports tourists or primary spectators are visitors whose primary purpose for visiting the destination is to attend the event. Whilst tourism sport or casual spectators are visitors at the host destination for another reason but choose to attend the event. Medium sized events may draw heavily on tourists who discover the event whilst at a destination. The connection between sport and Highland games is significant due to the high level of sporting competition in the events where individuals may interact in a number of

ways through participation as leisure or sports activity. Interestingly, the definition of event sport tourism by Gibson (1998) has links with Highland games as there is evidence that some competitors travel between Highland games competing at a series of individual events (Davidson, 2009; Macdonnell, 1937; Ross, 2014; Webster, 1973, 2011). This is contrary to Neirotti (2005) who refers to event sport tourism at a greater national or international level where competitors are likely to compete only once.

The complexity of clearly defining terminology is represented through the increasing definitions pertaining to sport, events and people who attend events as spectators, competitors or in some other capacity, combined with the need to travel.

3.2.3 Spatial and temporal movement of visitors

The movement of people within the UK has been facilitated with the improvement of roads and railways when it became easier for people to travel around the country (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Gold and Gold, 1995; Lynch, 1996) in turn, contributing to the development of sport tourism. More affordable hotels and easier travelling encouraged people to combine holidays with involvement in events. Events can be a main motivator for travel and have the ability to introduce another dimension to tourism destinations through offering diverse leisure opportunities. As events are increasingly used to promote destinations and created to stimulate tourism, there may be increasing numbers of individuals travelling to and from events. In particular, Higham (2005) notes that sports events can be a main motivator for people to travel as different sporting activities provide a diverse visitor experience.

The importance of mobility has been recognised by a range of authors (e.g. see Liang et al., 2008; Nilbe et al., 2014; Sheller and Urry, 2004) reflecting the importance of understanding travel associated with events. Nilbe et al., (2014) employed mobile positioning technology in the form of passive mobile positioning data obtained from visitors to explore travel distance. Whereas Liang et al., (2008) used zip codes to understand travel patterns. The sharing of mutual interest in sport events can lead to travelling within and between countries as individuals seek to share event experiences. Leisure and tourism

incorporate event space as an environment where people can socially interact and Standeven and De Knop (1999) distinguish the cultural experience of place when related to the physical activity of sport and tourism.

Understanding the movement of individuals between events is important within event studies and provides an improved understanding of spatial and temporal movement to and from events. Sports events can stimulate regional, national and international travel flow as spectators, competitors and other participants, such as travelling with an entourage of family and friends (Deery et al., 2004; Higham and Hinch, 2009; Weed and Bull, 2004). There are a limited number of studies which address the spatial and temporal movement of people from origin to destination even although Pettersson and Zillinger (2011) suggest people are travelling more frequently and for shorter durations. However, there are instances when there is the temporary movement of people away from the event area. Referred to as the *'displacement effect'* by Hall (1992) tourists and locals both avoid, or move from the area hosting an event since not every event is well received by local communities or tourists when there is some form of disruption (Gelder and Robinson, 2010).

The appeal of place can also be central when exploring the spatial and temporal movement of people, and authors such as Crouch (2000) extensively explores place and space in terms of the individuals' understanding of leisure and tourism activities. Gelder and Robinson (2010) recognise the importance of place by identifying that festivals surrounded by attractive landscapes, for instance, rural or coastal areas can attract large numbers of visitors. This is particularly relevant to many Highland games staged in wild rural landscapes beside lochs, in natural amphitheatres or in the foothills of mountains. Tourists can be influenced by the physical environment and the attractiveness of a place which includes the landscape and climate (Boniface and Cooper, 1994; Burton, 1995; Krippendorf, 1986). The attractiveness of many sport locations can be unique to a country or destination (Rooney and Pillsbury (1992). MacLeod (2009) regards spatial and temporal dimensions of the landscape as *'unreal'* places; simply a moment in time when donors and hosts occupy the same place for a limited period of time. Contrastingly, Yeoman et al., (2007) propose that through a sense of place, tourism destinations can create something real which

can equally be applied to events. The sense of place can be directly linked to event performances, propose Smith and Forest (2009), when referring to performances that quintessentially represent a region or destination and may be associated with indigenous culture (Mair and Whitford, 2013). The visible culture of Highland games corresponds with the proposal of Higham and Hinch (2009) that indigenous sport is part of a nation's culture closely linked to tradition and identity.

Whether sport is an incidental part of the trip as indicated by Green and Jones (2006) rather than the primary, secondary or tertiary travel motivation, Hinch and Higham (2004) propose that the spatial analysis of sport and tourism involves not only understanding the travel patterns of tourists but also the location where the events take place. Deery et al., (2005), Gelder and Robinson (2010), Hughes (2000) and Smith and Forest (2009) propose that not all tourists may be in the area specifically to attend an event but may be at a region or destination for other primary reasons. Whereas Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) suggest that the spatial and temporal nature of cultural events is likely to be a key factor influencing the willingness to travel. This is illustrated in the distance decay model developed by Boniface and Cooper (1994), where distance is a geographically limiting factor and tourist flows decrease with distance and time; factors that may be attributed to the cost implications and shaping travel patterns (Higham and Hinch, 2006; Nilbe et al., 2014).

3.2.4 Event visitation

Event visitation and frequency of repeat visits are important for destinations, when events are the primary motive to travel bringing economic benefits to a region or country. There may be a variety of factors that motivate individuals to travel to a destination for the first time that result in recurring or repeat visits. The defining features that enthuse tourists and visitors to return to the same destination or event multiple times may be connected with associated meanings and influences that relate to specific events and primary motivating factors to travel. The mobility of people across the world is increasing by tourists, migrants and family members (Hannam et al., 2006).

Early tourism studies explored the theoretical construct of motivation to understand the influencing factors of travel such as Dann's (1981) push and pull factors. Push and pull factors were originally associated with tourist motivation and behavioural studies, the pull factor emanated from the desired destination and the push factor the desire to travel. Dann's (1981) theoretical framework has been extended to event studies by event study practitioners such as Smith et al., (2010) in pursuit of understanding behavioural intention at tourism events. Exploring the internal push factors in relation to the external pull factors of an event destination Smith et al., (2010) found the event theme (a culinary event) the overriding pull factor and push factors were associated with the novelty and socialisation.

The influence of motivational factors associated with repeat visitation has been of particular interest for authors where comparative studies have been conducted between first time and repeat visits to events. The associations with repeat visitation have been explored within tourism destinations where Shani et al., (2009) found many tourists revisit a destination to strengthen interpersonal relationships with local residents or repeat visiting fellow tourists. Repeat tourism or event visits are stimulated by a first time visit to the destination (Page and Connell, 2012) and even when a person travels to the same event repeatedly they will always encounter a unique experience (Getz, 2012). Snelgrove and Wood (2010) propose that first time and repeat visitors differ in their motivations where mapping travel patterns can indicate frequency of event visitation to single or multiple locations, and identify associations that may be linked with familial ties or friends.

When investigating the appeal of a charity event Snelgrove and Wood (2010) found first time visitors were motivated by the offerings of the destination whereas repeat visitors were more interested in the charity and had less desire to explore. A similar situation was found by Shanka and Taylor (2004) when repeat visitors were more highly associated with the atmosphere of the event than first timers.

Similarly, set within a comparable study of first time and repeat visitors to two rurally located events Byrd et al., (2014) framed the assumption that, based on level of spending, repeat visitors would be more desirable than first time visitors.

The findings contradicted this as the research found first time visitors remained in the area longer and spent more on accommodation, at the events and visiting attractions than repeat visitors. Conversely, when researching the economical value of repeat visitors to a festival Shani et al., (2009) found repeat visitors stay longer, visit more venues, accounted for more than half the event attendees and were more likely to return the following year. However, when Kruger and Saayman (2013) explored first time and repeat visitors to a festival, both first time and repeat visitors were equally important to the sustainability of the event. When segmenting festival visitors Lee and Kyle (2013) found it was possible to predict repeat visitation based on commitment to the event and place.

Lau and McKercher (2004) found first time visitors to an event were more likely to explore, whereas repeat visitors were more interested in rekindling informal friendships with like minded travellers and interacting with VFRs (Lau and McKercher, 2004). Scott and Turco (2007) found that VFRs had strong associations with repeat travel. Similar connotations can be found in the informal connections between repeat tourists and repeat event goers through the motivation to renew friendships and acquaintances with friends or relatives (Byrd et al., 2014; Hall, 2005; Law and McKercher, 2008; Liang et al., 2008; McCall Smith, 2013; Pegg and Patterson, 2010; Schneider and Backman, 1996; Schofield and Thompson, 2007; Law and McKercher, 2004). Lee and Kyle, (2013) and Timothy (2011) explored festival commitment related to emotional attachment in relation to behavioural intention, revealing that locals use events to engage and reacquaint with friends and relatives who reside far from the event site.

When Hall (2005) discusses the mobility of tourists, it is linked with transnationalisation involving return trips to the homeland of immigrants which can be extended to returning repeatedly over time for specific events. When associated with sports events VFRs often feature in the debate as by Douglas and Turco (2007) when studying the travel of VFRs accompanying sports participants.

Repeat visitors are considered destination aware tourists who are knowledgeable about the area and may be revisiting because of friendships

previously formed at the events (Byrd et al., 2014). Schofield and Thompson (2007) found that meeting old friends and making new acquaintances was a primary factor for repeat visits to an event. Like many other authors of Highland games, McCall Smith (2013: n.p.) records how *'everybody turns up at the games',* the continuing suggestion that the events are an annual occurrence for the local communities indicating repeat attendance. Higham and Hinch (2009) refer to travelling competitors as temporary sports migrants who vary their length of stay and may be repetitive or sequential associated with a sport season where recurrent return trips can be common practice.

Authors such as de Bres and Davis (2001) found the level of an event's success may encourage outsiders to become repeat visitors. Similarly, Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010) link repeat visitation with overall satisfaction of events as crucial in shaping future intention, although suggest that past behaviour cannot be a predictor of future intention. Lee and Kyle (2013) concur that a positive event, experience heightens loyalty intention and emotional bonding to the event also associated with repeat visitation. When comparing satisfaction levels between a summer street festival and winter film festival, Grunwell et al., (2008) found variances between repeat and first time visitors. The population at the summer event comprised of two thirds returning visitors whereas only one third returned to the winter film festival. The difference was primarily related to visitor dissatisfaction with the previous film festival due to technical and operational differences. Perhaps it is the thematic content of the events that may influence future intention to visit alongside event satisfaction and/or social interaction.

Nonetheless Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010) are of the opinion that destination image is important for sports tourists repeatedly attending an event, and further suggest that repeat visitation could be associated with good management and reputation, and that competitors have a predisposition to return. The link between a positive event experience and repeat visitation was found by Taks et al., (2009) adding that it is reasonable to expect that recurring events are more likely to attract repeat visitation because some event attendees will return to an event year after year (Taks et al., 2009).

The implications of understanding intention to attend events and push and pull factors increase awareness of travel intention which is of significant importance

for destinations that are attempting to encourage repeat visitation. Understanding the motivation for repeat visits can provide valuable information on tourists and visitors and may have implications for tourism and/or event strategies.

3.3 The significance of cultural events

Culture has many forms and, if unique to a specific country or destination, can be used to stimulate cultural tourism and increase visitor and touristic activity. Events that offer a unique cultural experience may be incorporated into event strategies to broaden tourist appeal. As cultural tourism is one of the fastest growing forms of tourism (Holloway, 2009; Walker and Walker, 2011) this may benefit destinations that host cultural events giving visitors the opportunity to travel to unique cultural settings (Donlon et al., 2010). Visitors who are motivated wholly or in part to access music and dance festivals may help to sustain cultural practices (Walker and Walker, 2011). The uniqueness of cultural tourism is increasingly linked with events where individuals have the opportunity to experience new cultures (Donlon et al., 2010; Schofield and Thompson, 2007).

Culture is based on shared symbols, language and meaning and can be part of cultural celebrations in the form of events or festivals, where visitors experience culture as traditions, rituals and practices (Raj and Vignali, 2010). Cultural tourism may have broad connotations and links with indigenous sporting activity and music, where individuals satisfy cultural needs by participating or observing living culture (Mair and Whitford, 2014; Timothy, 2011). There are different types of non-material culture in the form of music, dance, athletics and ceremonies, as Timothy (2011) differentiates rural landscapes, villages and cities as material culture. Cultural experiences may stimulate further attendance bringing people together where visitors have the opportunity to interact with local communities and indigenous people, according to Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Cook et al., (2010), Hinch and Higham (2005); Holloway (2009), Mair and Whitford (2014) and Walker and Walker (2011).

In the context of defining cultural tourism, Borley (1994) advocates cultural events as environments where people can experience social customs and

traditions of a different society. Cultural tourism can provide residents with a sense of place, image and identity (Donlon et al., 2010; Getz, 2008) easily facilitated and incorporated within festival and event themes. Meanwhile Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) state that because of their temporal nature, events cannot be a principal force in driving tourism; whereas Gelder and Robinson (2010) recognise cultural events as central to tourism destination portfolios and assist in promoting the uniqueness of a destination (McKercher et al., 2006). While the promotion of a single event may not be accepted as a driving force for tourism, it can be argued that multiple events taking place throughout a summer tourist season (or longer) could help drive tourism especially if the event has evolved as a tourist attraction (Weidenfeld and Leask, 2012). Such an approach is perhaps evident in the year-long celebration of Homecoming (2009, 2014) that involved numerous events across the country (Scottish Government 2009, VisitScotland 2014).

Felsenstein and Fleischer (2003) suggest that local festivals can be re-invented and used to promote tourism and increase tourist spending which, in turn, can help preserve culture consumed by tourists (Getz, 1991; Saleh and Ryan, 1993). This is contrary to Boorstin's (1973) claims that cultural celebrations can be a travesty if revised for the benefit of tourists, although Schofield and Thompson (2007) propose that some cultural events have not been altered even with increasing numbers of visitors. Cultural events are not only for visitors and tourists but can also provide essential opportunities for local residents to celebrate indigenous sport as found by McCartney and Osti (2007) where Dragon Boat Races, traditionally held in local fishing villages have evolved into a national tourist phenomenon.

Local cultural events have attributes that appeal to tourists and can showcase cultural heritage along with cultural landscapes and local traditions, whilst providing an opportunity for locals and families to socialise (Schofield and Thompson, 2007). An environment such as this provides opportunities for visitors, tourists and residents to mingle in an inclusive environment and experience an authentic place of culture (McKercher et al., 2006). Smith and Forest (2009) consider typical cultural tourists as looking for authentic experiences in environments with the possibility of interacting with the locals

and celebrating a traditional way of life (Mayfield and Compton, 1995). Cultural events provide this opportunity by producing cultural ideas, cultural identity and cultural products for consumption (Getz, 2013), although Saleh and Ryan (1993) propose that cultural events are likely to be threatened through commercialisation, which could lead to the '*commodification of tradition'* argues Lothian (2001). de Bres and Davis, (2001) found that even although festivals may be characterised as tourist commodification, local communities can benefit through confirmation of self-identification. However, the traditional and cultural nature of an event may be threatened by commercialisation if continually attended by high numbers of tourists (Saleh and Ryan, 2005; Smith and Forest, 2009). If, through commercialisation, economic benefits are favoured over cultural and social aspects and events are to be targeted to visitors and tourists rather than local residents, some level of hostility may develop according to MacLeod (2009), Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) and Walle (2003). Bachleitner and Zins (1999) suggest that commodification of an event may be the main cause for an event to be spurned by residents. Furthermore, McClinchey (2008) expresses concern over the increasing numbers of events which are over produced leading to the commodification of culture and loss of authenticity.

Culture does not remain in a single destination, culture travels. As people move around the world, culture is transported and may result in the emergence of cultural events in other countries. There are many examples of events staged across the world, established far from traditional roots such as Burns Night, (Bueltmann, 2012; Rigney, 2011), Hogmanay (Douglas, 2011; Mair and Frew, 2011) and Highland games (Brander, 1992; Bueltman, 2010; Burnett, 2000; Colquhoun and Machell, 1891; Davidson, 2009; Donaldson, 1986; McCombie Smith 1891; Ray, 2001; Ross, 2014), events historically bound to Scotland.

3.3.1 The transnationalisation of culture through events

Although small traditional community events may not immediately come to mind when considering the concept of transnationalisation, events can be transported around the world when migrants desire to maintain links with their ancestral roots and culture. Culture and people can be mobile as people migrate, taking their culture to new countries (Rojek and Urry, 1997). However, this does not

mean transported culture exists in isolation since over time cultures become intertwined. For example, Higham and Hinch (2009) link the globalisation of sport and the resulting tourism with transnationalisation in the form of migration and diaspora as people travel to settle in new lands (Carnegie and Smith, 2009). Clifford (1997) draws attention to diasporas, travel and migration where sport tourism is a means of living elsewhere and remembering another place.

Typically, diasporic populations use events to celebrate culture and traditions, providing opportunities for different cultures to intermingle (Carnegie and Smith, 2009; MacLeod, 2009). Some authors such as Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007), MacLeod (2009) and Smith and Foster (2009) suggest that due to fragmented diasporic communities, modernisation and commodification, transported cultural events may be compromised, resulting in the loss of authenticity and identity. To some extent the evolution of Highland games in North America typifies the changes in transported cultural events (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3) where a strong focus on Clan Associations has developed, whereas Clan links in Scotland are mainly linked to historical patronage or event location. In some part the differences between North American Highland games and Scottish events realises the concerns of Macdonell (1937) who was apprehensive about the ethos and dilution of the authenticity of Highland games staged outside Scotland.

3.3.2 Culture, sport and authenticity

The cultural content and traditions exhibited at Highland games places the events within the debate associated with authenticity that is often applied to events that maintain local and cultural traditions (Frost, 2012; Janiskee, 1991). A number of critics propose that the advent of tourism has distorted the authenticity of cultural events in favour of providing the tourist with an imagined or altered cultural experience in order to satisfy tourism demand (Boorstin, 1964; Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Deery et al., 2004; McCleary, 1995; McLeod, 2009; Urry, 2003). Authenticity is debated in terms of being real where *'contrived attractions'* are favoured over the authentic (Urry, 2003). Although Yeoman et al., (2007) propose that tourists are increasingly looking for *'real'* experiences that are truly authentic rather than *'fake'*.

Debates about authenticity are well established in tourism studies stimulated initially by Boorstin's (1964) criticism of pseudo-events where real and fake were questioned when failing to reflect the true culture of a place. Boorstin (1973) argues that pseudo-events cannot provide authentic experiences for tourists when the primary focus is to attract tourists rather than retaining the integrity of the event. On such occasions Ryan (2003) suggests that performances have little reference to reality. Boorstin (1973) derides the Americans for the rise of pseudo-events where reality is lost through the demand for illusion and extravagant events and Urry (2003) suggests that tourists are gullible in their enjoyment of pseudo-events whilst disregarding the real world.

Wang (1999) infers that authenticity relates to ethnic, historical and cultural forms designating three different kinds of authenticity as objective, constructive or symbolic and existential authenticity. The first two are limited to a range of tourist experiences and the latter as a situation that provides a wider range of tourist experiences. Hinch and Higham (2005) refer to existential authenticity as concerned with the tourist experience based on their own opinion of their own experience rather than whether an event is authentic or not.

The question of cultural authenticity often comes to the fore especially when associated with tourism or events promoted as tourist attractions (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Getz, 2013; Jago and Shaw, 1998; Light, 1996; McKercher et al., 2006). Issues surrounding the debate of authenticity can be linked to cultural practices and occasions for celebration when associated with event creation and development. Where there is a tourism focus the penchant for targeting tourists can impact negatively on the authenticity of culturally themed events that fail to reflect the true culture of a place, by creating a cultural experience for tourists and corrupting the true cultural nature of the event (Hinch and Higham, 2005; McCleary, 1995).

Donlon et al., (2010) propose that as visitors begin to frequent cultural performance events, modifications may be made over time to appease the tourist. To appeal to tourists Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) acknowledge that cultural content may be altered, the event may be located to a more accessible and spectacular location, and the time of the event extended to

make it more accessible. When an ordinary practice such as folk singing is transferred to a tourist setting it becomes dramatic and spectacular (Knox, 2008), although in the search for the *'spectacular'* Light (1996) concurs that moving traditional practices from a traditional setting is to the detriment of the historical integrity of the performance. Furthermore, MacLeod (2009) argues that even if some vestiges of ancient rituals remain within community festivals there may be a lack of concern for authenticity when developing indigenous cultural products for tourists. Thus, events rooted in local or indigenous traditions are compromised by alterations to appeal to tourists (Smith and Forest, 2009).

Much debate revolves around culture and events when there is some form of interference that alters the original. Chhabra et al., (2003) found that visitors attending a Highland games in the USA perceived the event to be authentic, in a study that has *'staged authenticity'* in the title and is composed of traditional Scottish activities. However, Smith and Foster (2009) contend that within fragmented and diasporic communities the authenticity of an event may be compromised. If an event has a verifiable accepted origin, Ray (2011) suggests that is sufficient for an event to be authentic and through adoption and repetition can establish emergent authenticity. Even when the event is staged far from the original cultural source and origin of the tradition, such as Highland games (Chhabra et al., 2003). Although the narrative has turned to emerging tradition Urry (2003) informs that almost all cultures have invented and re-invented traditions. When there is great upheaval and rapid transformation of society, as occurred in the Highlands in the 1700s, it is reasonable to expect new traditions to form from the old ones (Hobsbawn, 2008).

Cohen's (1988) variation on the authentic extends to the concept of emergent authenticity described as a cultural product once judged as contrived or inauthentic although may, over the course of time be recognized as authentic. The action of repeating the same process leads to *'emergent authenticity'* of a cultural development which becomes authentic over time (Cohen, 1988) although he also argues that *'local costumes and customs, rituals and feasts, and folk and ethnic arts become touristic services or commodities, as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption'* (Cohen, 1988:372). This

highlights the paradox between *'true'* authenticity, attracting tourists and increasing revenue. Smith and Forest (2009) maintain that emergent authenticity sanctions the notion that all events were created at some point in time when emergent authenticity can relate to new or invented traditions that take place alongside older traditions. Donlon et al., (2010) suggest that some visitors are satisfied with representations of cultural elements, as experiencing the authentic is not the determining factor to travel although MacCannell (1973) suggests the search for authenticity is a main travel motivator for cultural tourists. There may be global travellers who are not looking for authentic festivals but are looking for an authentic experience with place and identity in an environment where locals, visitors and tourists can enjoy similar experiences (MacLeod, 2009).

McCleary (1995) contests that if an event is commercialised or commodified in an attempt to increase tourist numbers there can be a negative impact on the authenticity of a cultural event. However, Smith and Forest (2009) contend that cultural tourists seek to encounter local and indigenous culture through an authentic experience. Whereas Cohen (1988) argues that even if the event has become commoditised, if the core content of the events is traditional tourists can still enjoy an authentic experience. Further, Donlon et al., (2010) propose that for some cultural tourists the level of authenticity at events may not always be the most important factor as some are satisfied with representations of culture although there are others who do seek the authentic. Increasingly sports events are becoming significant in the desire for tourists seeking an authentic experience (Gammon, 2012). Hinch and Higham (2005) suggest there are advantages for sports events and sports based attractions as the resilience and robustness of the content gives sports events a unique advantage over cultural events and attractions when associated with issues related to commodification and authenticity.

The retention of the authenticity of an event should not be lost even when celebrated by people from many different backgrounds (Raj and Vignali, 2010). Brida et al., (2013) assert that as long as the local community consider the event to be authentic and when linked to the reproduction of cultural traditions it can be a genuine and accurate depiction. Culture can be distinctly unique to

rural areas, and as such, Bachleitner and Zins (1999) imply that the content must be authentic to appeal to tourists.

Although there has been much debate around culture and authenticity Brida et al., (2013), Eco (1986) and Smith and Forest (2009) suggest that the idea of an authentic experience is a redundant concept, since authentic and inauthentic experiences are virtually indistinguishable from each other, and that tourists are unlikely to be able to identify if a performance is authentic or not. In a similar fashion Knox (2008) proposes that authentic and inauthentic are both capable of representing the past and the present. Where evolving cultural practices connect past and present and historic interpretation of festivals reflect their ancient origins (Devismes, 2014). Relationships are formed with a historical truth (Knox, 2008) and the boundaries between reality and fiction can be blurred (Hughes, 1992)

The ability of events to remain distinctive through differentiation (Pegg and Patterson, 2010) may be achieved by retaining authentic cultural aspects which may be financially beneficial to the destination. Brida et al., (2013) found that visitors to an authentic cultural event were more likely to have higher levels of expenditure. However, cultural events do not always have the capacity to appeal to tourists as McKercher et al., (2006) found three cultural festivals did not attract the expected number of tourists even although the events provided visitors with an authentic experience of local Chinese culture. Cultural events act as an instrument to foster tourism in rural areas (Bachleitner and Zins, 1999), where events provide opportunities for local and cultural traditions and increase tourism activity (Janiskee, 1991).

Typically for small rural and community events, one of the issues for cultural themed events is that they may require external financial support (de Bres and Davis, 2001; Gibson and Connell, 2011; Mair and Whitford, 2014; McCartney and Osti, 2007). Accessing financial support may be difficult if there are no specific policies in place to make provision for small and medium sized events. One of the reasons cited by Kerr (2003) and Ross (2011) is that a lack of policy decision making prevents support for cultural events.

3.3.3 Public sector support for cultural themed events

Community festivals and events are considered to be the new form of niche tourism attracting cultural tourists (Raj and Vignali, 2010) and may be supported by the public sector, particularly if there are social and economic benefits for the community. For example, if the events form part of an event strategy for economic development, nation building and destination marketing (Gelder and Robinson, 2010). If events are to appeal to tourists, perpetuate cultural identity or be part of an events strategy some form of financial support may be required.

A lack of funding may compromise the continuation of culture and cultural events, as funding is often dependent on the economic benefits as opposed to the continuation of culture (Getz, 2011; Smith and Forest, 2009). This point of view is shared by Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) who found conflict between cash strapped local authorities who place more emphasis on generating revenue from events rather than cultural associations. Saayman and Saayman (2011) also found that, prior to committing funding to events, local government and sponsors want to determine the economic impact and how the local community will benefit from the event. Where there is insufficient public sector funding for cultural activities, Andersson and Getz (2009) found that not-for-profit organisations had to depend on sponsorship or revenue generated by the event. The benefits of funding cultural events were expressed by Burgan and Mules (cited in Ryan, 2003) where, although the event may prove to be a financial loss, the local economy may profit economically.

Many culturally based events are small festivals (de Bres and Davis, 2001) that take place within rural and community environments (Gibson and Connell, 2011; McCartney and Osti, 2007) and by their very nature may require financial support by local government. Small festivals and events face unique challenges as they may be regarded as insignificant in relation to high profile events infers Getz (2008), although Higham (1999) proposes that small scale events do not require much assistance from public funds. Additionally, Felsenstein and Fleischer (2003) argue that self-sustaining events generating income through ticket sales, sponsorship and patronage may be denied public sector funding.

There are alternatives to monetary contribution, as the public sector can provide support through issuing licenses, granting permission, police support, road closure assistance and subsequent clean-up (Candreas and Ispas, 2010). However, Stokes (2006) identified a lack of co-ordination between public organisations and stakeholders. The aims of event producers may be divergent from the policy makers as producers of cultural events may be linked with identity, community and place whereas some policy makers are often more concerned with using cultural symbols to construct regional or national identity (Crespi-Vallbona and Richards, 2007; Light, 2007).

Gelder and Robinson (2010) maintain that reasons for supporting community events can be part of a cultural development strategy in an effort to bring the community together through participation in sports or the promotion of cultural diversity. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that event strategies can be implemented to promote a destination. However, Andersson and Getz (2009) suggest that local governments need to look at an entire portfolio of events and festivals when developing an events strategy. Lombardi et al., (2004) suggest there is a natural association between politics and sport as politicians seek to increase their status by bringing prestigious events and élite athletes to the country. Meanwhile, Chalip and McGuirty (2004) state that for policy makers or marketers, sport tourism events should be incorporated into the overall marketing strategy and be bundled together with other appropriate attractions to promote destination appeal such as shopping and sightseeing. Jackson and Weed (2004) also recognise the importance of integration between sport and tourism public agencies when developing policy administration since without proper relationships, substantial obstacles may prevent collaborative policy initiatives. Knox (2003) maintains that Scotland has failed to build upon its distinct culture and heritage because of a lack of policy decision making

However there are times when policies do not always benefit sporting events, as found by Allan (1974) when in 1954 an entertainments tax was levied on all entertainment, resulting in higher expenditure there was a significant threat to the operation of some Highland games. There was also a danger to Highland games following the Second World War where Allan (1974) states that:

> *In 1945, Scotland, like the rest of Britain was looking forward to times that would surely be better. A socialist government elected with a working majority for the first time promised a new order. No one wanted to go back to the old days of mass unemployment and poverty. Activities that were identifiably part of the old order were overlooked and despised. Many of the Highland games became victims of this view that confused novelty with progress.*
>
> (Allan, 1974: 3)

Commercial events are developed for financial benefits but there are many events on a not-for-profit basis at community level that may be in a precarious position when it comes to financial stability, if there is no support from public bodies or sponsors.

Community based events can enhance social harmony, unite communities through social cohesion but, most importantly, they are normally a venue for enjoyment and entertainment.

3.4 Community centred events

Community events are primarily staged to benefit the local residents, focusing on the creation of an enjoyable social event rather than the pursuit of economic benefits. If the event has a unique traditional and cultural theme celebrating local identity, there is the potential to bring socio-cultural and economic benefits to a region. Although not setting out to appeal to visitors or tourists with the increasing interest in cultural tourism, low key cultural events may have heightened appeal for visitors (Getz, 2011).

Even when large numbers of visitors and tourists descend on a smaller population, negative impacts may emerge in the form of irritation and resentment from the host community (Gelder and Robinson, 2010). In the case of an annual event there may be instances when individuals move away from the event area through the displacement effect highlighted by Hall (2002). Any attempt to widen the appeal of a community event to increase tourism numbers requires support from the local residents, as Ritchie (1984) proposes:

> *Unless local confidence is developed, outside comment and criticism may lead to defensiveness and self-doubt rather than pride and enthusiasm. As well, in the case of a smaller host community, the arrival of large numbers of visitors having different values and behaviours may result in varying degrees of host/visitor hostility rather than improved hospitality.*
>
> Ritchie (1984: 10)

There is a certain social value attached to community events as a motivator for community involvement, to strengthen community bonds, provide socio-cultural benefits (Mayfield and Compton, 1995; McCleary, 1995; O'Sullivan and Jackson, 2002) and celebrate community values. Events have the ability to re-unite families and friends on a social basis, and are particularly important for past residents who use events as a place to meet for social reunion with friends and relatives (Derrett, 2003; Light, 1996) contributing to a sense of belonging. Communities may construct reconnection, acknowledgement and recognition when former residents return (Ziakas and Costa, 2010), where old friends make new ones and share family experiences (Pegg and Patterson, 2010) and people have a sense of belonging to place and place attachment (Devismes, 2014).

Important for the wellbeing of a community, Dimmock and Tiyce (2001) suggest that events can forge and strengthen community bonds by sharing culture, bringing a sense of togetherness through experiencing shared values and beliefs and increased social interaction (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Jamieson, 2014). Although there are positive effects of participating in community events, it is unlikely that all community members will attend a local event. As Boo, Carruthers and Busser (2014) suggest, there are likely to be some non-participants with a general disinterest in the event. In some respect this may have links with the findings of Rogers and Anastasiadou (2011) when it was discovered that some minority groups were absent and underrepresented at community events. However, the uniqueness of community events makes it appealing to heterogeneous audiences in a collective celebration (Schneider and Bachman, 1996).

Many events, in particular community events, would be unable to operate if it were not for the volunteer organisers who drive the management process as an essential organising workforce.

3.4.1 Volunteers and community

Volunteers give their own free time on a non-remuneration basis to organise or assist in groups or events, and the majority of events of all sizes depend on at least some volunteers (Elstad, 2003). Although the majority of research has been conducted with the volunteer staff in place during the event, some literature is relevant and applicable to the organisers.

Voluntary leisure organisations and associations emerge alongside the public sector and the private sector as the three key leisure providers. Unlike the commercial sector, the voluntary sector is most likely to be operating on a not-for-profit basis for the benefit of its members (Darcy et al., 2014), where volunteers are generally considered to provide a service without material gain (Green and Jones, 2006). Most Highland games operate as community events on similar principles where success is based on generating enough income to stage the event the following year. Some recent studies have focused on event organisers such as Darcy et al., (2014) exploring volunteer organisers of sporting not-for-profit events, O'Sullivan et al., (2008) who found evidence of social capital between volunteer organisers when organising, co-ordinating and participating in an event, and Zakus et al., (2009) who also found evidence of social capital when studying voluntary organisations of sports clubs.

There are a number of studies of volunteers at mega events, in particular the Olympic Games (Fairley and Kellett, 2005; Karkatsoulis and Michalopoulos, 2005; Kemp, 2002) and Commonwealth Games (Downward et al., 2005; Ralston et al., 2005). In Kemp's (2002) study of the Olympics, the motivation for volunteers at mega events was found to be the social contact and building of friendships and the opportunity to learn new skills. Following a study of volunteers at the Athens 2004 Olympic Games by Karkatsoulis et al., (2005), it appeared that one of the main motivators for volunteering was altruistic. Typically, in a voluntary capacity people are freely involved in activities they enjoy (Blackshaw, 2010) whilst accumulating experience and skills (Roberts, 2004).

Volunteers are often considered to be involved in forms of serious leisure (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1) which is appropriate when linked with the volunteer

organisers of events, sometimes associated with Stebbins' (2004) career volunteering, due to the experience, skills and knowledge required to undertake necessary tasks. Bendle and Patterson (2008) studied career volunteers who could be said to be involved in *'serious'* leisure when organising an event, finding there was a reliance on a small number of people responsible for the organisation of events, which can be typical of community based voluntary organisations. This reflects the findings of Reynolds (Ross, 2011) where there were no commitment issues with existing organisers of Highland games, but a difficulty in attracting new members. There is an underlying argument by some commentators that volunteer event organisers do not have the knowledge or expertise to organise events successfully. However, Watt (1998) argues that some volunteer and community groups can be very effective at organising and running events due to high levels of commitment, hard work and procurement of sponsorship or funding.

The reliance and enthusiasm of volunteers organising community events and contribution to community spirit is measureable (Gursoy et al., 2003) as it is generally known that the majority of events would be unable to operate if it were not for the volunteer work force. Most community events are operated on a not-for-profit basis relying on the goodwill of community members for volunteer assistance. When relating to volunteers at Highland games Jarvie (1994) notes that within west coast communities of Scotland the process of keeping Highland games alive relates to a way of life and not simply voluntary activities. Within the organisers of community events, McCleary (1995) found volunteer participation was for altruistic reasons, wanting to feel a sense of belonging. Conversely, Leigh (2002) suggests that volunteering *'holds societies together'* and is linked with a sense of national identity and pride.

Even although it would appear to be somewhat problematic or challenging to organise events, UK research conducted in 2006–2007 by the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) (2009) identified the most popular types of volunteering activity. After fundraising (66%), running events was the second most popular form of volunteer activity (50%), and third was committee membership (28%), although it was within the confines of education and religion that benefited most from volunteer activity (IVR, 2008). This relates to the

findings of Andersson and Getz (2009) who suggest that volunteer work is characteristic of the not-for-profit sector's interest in common goals, particularly in terms of producing and staging events.

The social aspects of community found at events can be crucial to unify communities by bringing people together at social occasions such as events and festivals, and can be influential in building social capital between individuals and groups. The following section addresses social capital as a useful theoretical base underpinning the concept of Highland games.

3.5 The concept of Social Capital

Social capital theory provides an appropriate framework for this thesis given the increasing interest in associations between social capital, and sports events. Social capital is connected with shared values and social divisions (Wilks, 2012) and is based on the premise that social interaction can be built between individuals coming together for specific purposes such as joining committees or associations.

Individuals may come together for the specific purpose of staging an event or travelling to an event where experiences are shared through similar interests. Specific themed events, notably sport and culture, can be the catalyst to bring heterogeneous groups together from different socio-cultural or economic backgrounds and it is within this backdrop that social capital is placed as the theoretical foundation for this study. Set within the community environment, social capital is considered to be a fundamental resource arising from relationships or interaction between individuals or groups, and an important factor of community well-being (Sharpley and Stone, 2012). Evidence of the appropriateness of the association between social capital and Highland games, relates to the substantial scope of literature connecting social capital with community and sport events which are capable of uniting large sectors of the community.

Social capital has been associated with different forms of leisure and event settings (Arcodia and Whitford, 2008), sports events (Jamieson, 2014; Jarvie, 2003; Misner and Mason, 2006; Seippel, 2006; Thompson and Schofield, 2009;

Tonts, 2005), whereas Mohan and Mohan (2002) investigated if there was a place for social capital in the field of social geography. Darcy et al., (2014), O'Sullivan et al., (2008) and Zakus et al., (2009) specifically focused on organisers of not-for-profit sports events.

Social capital centres on trust, mutual obligation and reciprocation between humankind and how people are connected to social networks, associations and group memberships (Bourdieu, 1985; Giddens and Sutton, 2009; Halpern, 2005). Harlambos and Holborn (2008) and Mohan and Mohan (2002) were particularly interested in finding evidence of social capital in small villages and urban environments with strong social networks that tend to foster mutual obligation between people. Rojek (2005) proposes that:

> *Social capital refers to informal, reciprocal obligations and expectations that support meaningful, civilised relations between individuals. It is like economic capital in that it is a variable asset, the value of which rises and falls over time. However, it is unlike economic capital in as much as its value is only realized through use. It cannot be deposited in a bank and left to accumulate value without practice. Social capital requires the regular voluntary investment of time and energy to prosper.*
>
> Rojek (2005: 182)

The association between voluntary investment and Highland games is two-fold, by the voluntary organisations producing and managing events and spectators as willing consumers. In this instance the key differentiation is that social capital is associated with the exchange and benefits of socialisation between individuals present within the event setting, or in the case of organisers, the networks and communication maintained through co-ordination and participation offered by O'Sullivan et al., (2008). Following the writings of Bourdieu (1985), the concept of social capital has been developing since its foundation, brought to prominence by Coleman (1988) whose interest was focused on structures and groups within group memberships. Individuals with similar interests are members of the group and consistent with changing group members the strength of group cohesion may vary over time (Coleman, 1988). A similar situation exists within familial groups where family values and social networks may alter as priorities and circumstances change over time (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975).

Following the initial progression of social capital studies, Halpern (2005) proposed that a plethora of scholarly writings has increased the use and application of social capital to a number of networks and human environments, contrary to the initial findings of Putman (1995) who concluded a decline in social capital. Although Putman (1995) deduced social capital was in decline, it was based on individuals preferring a solo leisure activity rather than participating as a team member. One of the complexities of social capital is that it can be difficult to measure (Sharpley and Stone, 2013; Tonts, 2005) although academics continue to look for social capital within a number of leisure based activities and event settings.

Whilst there is more focus on communities by some scholars (Putman, 1995), Halpern (2005) extends the premise of social capital to work and interest based networks connected with social associations that encompass three basic components, i.e. networks, norms, and sanctions. To inform academic thinking, Halpern (2005) argues that researchers use different definitions of social capital to suit their own purposes that reflect micro environments such as family, to networks to span vast geographical distances, essentially the macro environment. As one of the early researchers, Portes (1998) supports the individuality of social capital, disputing the notion that macro level interaction of total strangers can be considered a form of social capital, warning that extending the use of social capital too broadly will *'lose any distinct meaning'* (Portes, 1998: 2). Despite this Torche and Valenzuela (2011) dispute the singularity of that viewpoint proposing that social capital can be found between known individuals and strangers.

This study sets out to search for social capital between individuals and organisations at micro level, constituting the organisers and macro level comprising of sub-sections within event audience members and wider network interaction. Although O'Sullivan et al., (2008) propose that social capital is more likely to occur at macro level when networking and co-ordinating events, it is envisaged social capital may be present at both micro and macro levels. The controversy surrounding the employment of social capital is based on the widespread differences in applying the phenomenon within diverse environments.

3.5.1 Social capital and exclusivity

Generating or building social capital within society is the main focus of most researchers, the theoretical influences concerned with social inclusion rather than exclusion (Halpern, 2005). Yet Blackshaw (2009), Halpern (2005), Portes (1998), Putman (1993), Giddens and Sutton (2009), Taylor (2011) and Tonts (2005) support the belief that by definition, group membership introduces exclusion and exclusivity that does not equate with equality or social cohesion. Boo et al., (2014) suggest there may be community members with a general disinterest in a particular event as found by Rogers and Anastasiadou (2011) when discovering it was minority groups that were absent and underrepresented at community events. Similarly, Arcodia and Whitford (2008) propose that when staging an event within heterogeneous communities it is possible to alienate other groups and visitors to a point where no social interaction occurs.

To some extent this may be true where groups are élitist, sometimes found at golf or leisure membership clubs where networks are not available to everyone, resulting in an unequal distribution that promotes inequality if not exclusion (Field, 2003). Tonts (2005) found negative aspects of social capital within a sports event environment where outsiders were treated hostilely where the members were less friendly to those external to the sports club or association network. Similar types of hostility are more evident in fan based events where travelling fans encounter the types of antagonistic behaviour sometimes found at football games, unlike a multi-sports event where fans of individual competitors are found in the absence of team competition.

Social groups and networks may not be available to everyone although it could be argued that free community festivals are available to everyone except if people do not feel they *'belong'*. The feeling of not belonging relates to semi-public or club good, rather than public good where benefits are spread further afield than the club or association (Halpern, 2005). Although most commentators extol the virtues of sports events as generators of social capital, there are situations when rivalry, mistrust or dislike prevents its development. Bourdieu (1985) found that geographically distant group associations were not able to generate social capital in the same manner as individuals participating in

local groups, social networks or other social structures. There is some merit to questioning whether geographically distant groups can build social capital, however, if these groups work together to attain similar goals the suggested inability for the creation of social capital may be overcome. Given this, Wilks (2012) found evidence of social groups meeting up at events, implying that groups residing in different geographical locations use the event for re-acquaintance and socialisation. Although not always evident, individuals have the ability to generate social capital through trust and sharing similar interests

When social capital is absent, the following is an example of the antithesis of trust and mutual reciprocity between individuals written by David Hume:

> *Your corn is ripe today; mine will be so tomorrow. 'Tis profitable for us both, that I should labour with you today, and that you should aid me tomorrow. I have no kindness for you, and know you have as little for me. I will not, therefore, take any pains upon your account; and should I labour with you upon my own account, in expectation of a return, I know I should be disappointed, and that I should in vain depend upon your gratitude. Here then I leave you to labour alone; you treat me in the same manner. The seasons change; and both of us lose our harvests for want of mutual confidence and security.*
>
> David Hume (cited in Putman 1993: 35)

A divergent view on trust, unlike the mutual reciprocation of trust promoted to reflect the presence of social capital between individuals, communities or groups, as in this scenario reciprocity is not upheld therefore a positive outcome is unclear.

3.5.2 Social capital, events, group membership and networks

Social capital is linked to people and public good, where social capital is considered by some to have closer links to social networks outside the immediate family where levels of trust and mutual reciprocity may be nurtured (Hall, 1999). Halpern (2005) considers that social capital can span from family settings through communities to the nation state but questions how widely social capital can be applied. However, Bourdieu (1985), Mohan and Mohan (2002) and Portes (1998) suggest that social capital favours individuals over family groups. On the other hand Field (2003) proposes there are benefits and

payoffs for group membership that as an individual would not be accessible. Whereas, Burt (2000) and Halpern (2005) suggest that the advantages of group membership stems from similar interests conducive to reciprocal trust and support by the club or association. Meanwhile, O'Sullivan et al., (2008) found evidence of social capital through participation and co-ordination of event organisers similarly Zakus et al., (2009) found social capital within not-for-profit organisations.

Communities that have shared interests can create strong links by bringing people together (Burt, 2000; Roberts, 2004) as connections may be nurtured and strengthened by the connectivity of social interaction. Further, Page and Connell (2010) recognise the connection between social capital and shared interests through group membership as significant within communities when people are connected and supported through trust, and obligations are fostered through mutual exchange. This can lead to greater membership benefits than those unaffiliated or excluded from groups or associations. Attendance at an event or festival as a spectator is conducive for individuals to unite, sharing public celebration and enjoyment thereby promoting cohesiveness where social benefits are achieved through sharing common goals and developing a sense of goodwill (Arcodia and Whitford, 2008). However, Tonts (2005) proposes that similar to clubs and associations, communities should be treated as one rather than individuals although this would be difficult to achieve with any heterogeneous community as it is unlikely all of the community share the same values or goals.

The following quote by Putman neatly encapsulates social capital in the context of community, accepted normal behaviour and building trust through the creation of networks and bonds within the community and framed on the positive aspects of social capital:

> *For a variety of reasons, life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust. Such networks facilitate coordination and communication, amplify reputations, and thus allow dilemmas of collective actions to be resolved.'*
>
> Putman (1995: 67)

Whilst there is some discussion around the decline of social capital, most studies have moved to a broader range of sub-categories that can be linked to a variety of environments (community, voluntary associations, sports groups and events).

3.5.3 Events and social capital

Events sit comfortably within a leisure framework and as identified by O'Sullivan et al., (2008) and Zakus et al., (2009), there is a close correlation between social trust and associated memberships found between event organisers. The growing consumption of leisure events themed as sporting or cultural has resonance with contemporary tourists according to O'Sullivan (2012). According to Uslaner (1999) and Zakus et al., (2009) key elements of voluntary organisations are trust and reciprocation where a rich source of social capital is found within a group focus rather than the individual (Hall, 1999; Seippel, 2006). Coleman (1998) uses voluntary organisations as examples of social capital theory in the consumption of leisure, and Giddens and Sutton (2009) suggest that key reasons for joining organisations is to acquire connections, increase influence and make a difference whilst reaping the rewards gained from group association.

Field (2003), Rojek (2005) and Tonts (2005) support the notion that volunteering can contribute to the formation of social capital as it involves a degree of trust, altruism and reciprocity, while Rojek (2005) extenuates the advantages through pursuit of similar interests within group membership. Coleman (1988) and Roberts (2004) also apply the concept of social capital to voluntary sector organisations where the former stresses the importance of communication and the latter links coming together through sport as a shared interest. Hosting sports events was found by Misener and Mason (2006) to generate social capital where community networks were developed through event organising activities. Holding formal positions within organisations requires and contributes to general trust found within most formal committees with members working together to achieve the same goals. Social networks extend beyond the duration of the event, according to Seippel (2006). If the event is of regular occurrence, new friendships and partnerships may develop through continued co-operation, bridging social capital between groups as

networks develop (Arcodia and Whitford, 2008). This direct interaction with others is significant when developing reciprocity, co-operation, goodwill, belonging and fellowship (Arcodia and Whitford, 2008) found in not-for-profit organisations.

Sporting environments are considered to contribute to social capital through widening social contacts, building self-confidence and teaching respect for rules, purports Uslaner (1999), which not only refers to the organising bodies but could also be associated with the competitors adhering to the rules of competition and the officials to enforce the rules. Studies by Harris (1998), Jarvie (2003), Seippel (2006), Taylor (2011), Tonts (2005), Uslaner (1999) and Zakus et al., (2009) have a specific focus on the development of social capital related to sporting events and sporting communities.

Whilst sport may be seen as a means to create social capital, Jarvie (2003) argues that it is unrealistic to expect sport to create social capital within society or that social capital will remedy major social problems. Whereas Portes (1998) acknowledges that social ties can restrict anti-social behaviour and Tonts (2005) concedes that sport is unlikely to be the complete answer to social inequalities.

3.5.4 Highland games – networks, norms and sanctions

Halpern's (2005) networks, norms and sanctions framework can be applied to Highland games, placing the events within a suitable theoretical framework. The main components are networks, norms and sanctions where the level of analysis incorporates individual, meso and macro-levels and the function of bonding, bridging and linking social capital (see Table 3.1).

Unlike proponents of social capital and individualism (Bourdieu, 1985; Hall, 1999; Jarvie, 2003; Mohan and Mohan, 2002), the network, norms and sanctions framework includes individuals and member associations connected to the group. Although there may be some discussion as to whether individuals or groups are most likely to generate social capital, there is a general consensus that social capital can be created between social relations with people, where co-operation can develop mutual benefits, meet shared common

goals with norms that govern effective behaviour (Field, 2003; Giddens and Sutton, 2009; Putman, 1993; Rojek, 2010).

Communities associated with group affiliation follow the norms or rules or *'social norms'* where sanctions may be both positive and negative. Halpern's (2005) criteria of a traditional locally based community fits well with Highland games where the sense of community can be extended to a wide range of geographical locations regionally, nationally and internationally, enabling people with a common interest of Highland games to come together facilitating norms and co-operative action (Halpern, 2005). This can be particularly notable between the organisers who have to organise, co-operate and participate to execute a successful event proposes O'Sullivan (2008). When applied to Highland games, the three key components of social capital can be attributed, as illustrated in Table 3.1.

Individuals with an interest in Highland games, either as organisers, officials, competitors, volunteers or spectators, belong to the *'network'*. The organisers are a group of individuals whose common goal is to manage an event. Consequently, the interaction and trust between individuals is crucial in achieving a successful outcome. The networks mainly apply to the organising committees as a group but primarily to the individuals within that group, who use networks to co-ordinate, manage and stage the event. Individuals attending events as spectators, competitors and officials are part of the network members associated by a shared interest in Highland games. Misener and Mason (2006) found that, through developing community networks in the process of organising sports events offered opportunities to build social capital that Seippel (2006) suggests may extend beyond the event.

Table 3. 1 Networks, norms and sanctions and Highland games

Networks – network members	Norms – rules and understandings	Sanctions and punishments for complying with/breaking network norms
Other members of the association within own group	Stakeholders	Approval, disapproval and exclusion, reputation
Other individuals and groups within the association, nationally and internationally	Due care of sharing equipment, mutual support (in some regions)	Recognition, reciprocation, avoidance and opposition, exclusion

Source: adapted from Halpern (2005)

Norms, rules and understanding encompass all individuals present, linked with adhering to societal norms of behaviour where stakeholders are expected to abide by the rules and required legislation. Shared equipment between organising bodies should be returned in good order and, if supporting other events as officials or attending as spectators societal norms should be followed. When norms are followed there should be no need to employ sanctions.

As proposed by Uslaner (1999), participation in sports can build self-confidence and teach respect for rules and has direct associations with the norms of understanding competition regulations and teaching respect for others. Seippel (2006) found similar conclusions as members of sports organisations appeared to contribute to some elements of generalised trust and as part of an organisation belonging to a network of other groups or association members.

The formal environment of sporting competition lends itself well when applied to the norms in association with following formalised rules and standard competitive regulations. When operating within the formality of rules and acceptance of normal social behaviour if rules are broken there are likely to be some form of negative repercussions which may lead to exclusion (Halpern, 2005), and positive consequences for non-rule breaking acceptable behaviour. For the competitors it may be related to deliberate or accidental competitive advantage or the use of performance enhancers which is monitored by the SHGA (2013) at affiliated member events. There is some evidence of regional inter-organisational support through equipment lending (personal communication, 2008) and organisers attending regional and international events, sometimes in official capacities as judges or some other formal role.

Social norms relating to competition and mutual support in official posts extends to overseas events as UK residents travel to compete, reciprocated by international competitors travelling to Scotland.

Maintaining a good reputation and staging an entertaining event can lead to recognition and approval by participants where sanctions and rewards can contribute to the spectators' enjoyment of the day by following accepted social behaviour, but if anyone present at the event does not follow the norms or rules they may be open to some form of disapproval and/or repercussions, for example removal from the event or some form of penalty in the case of competitors. Unlike the exclusion by non-membership of an association or community advocated by Arcodia and Whitford, (2006), Blackshaw (2009), Giddens and Sutton (2009) and Tonts (2005) exclusion from the events would be intentional.

Social capital may be linked at both micro and macro concept of community and bonding social capital and bridging social capital which follows.

3.5.5 Bonding and bridging social capital in sports events

Within the theoretical foundations of social capital, bonding and bridging capital emerge as two significant elements which distinguish between the micro level of family and group membership and macro level across a wider geographical distance and associated with bonding and bridging social capital (Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1988) As proposed by Putman (1993), bonding capital strengthens relationships within groups whereas bridging capital relates to relationships that extend to different geographically distant groups. In order to place social capital within an appropriate sporting environment, associations can be explored in conjunction with previous studies of bonding and bridging social capital at sports events (Harris, 1998; Jarvie, 2003; Roberts, 2004; Taylor; 2011; Tonts, 2005).

Bonding social capital and bridging social capital are not mutually exclusive as shared interests unite individuals, and both can occur within a sport or voluntary organisation according to Burt (2000), Harris (1998), Roberts (2004), Taylor (2011) and Tonts (2005). Taylor (2011) distinguishes bonding capital as more

likely to be evident within homogenous groups with similar interests come together to achieve similar goals through volunteering. Whereas Taylor (2011) remains firm in the conviction that volunteering in sport and leisure are more likely to be associated with bonding capital rather than bridging capital which he considers to be associated with heterogeneous groups that are less likely to share the same interests, therefore less likely to associate with each other. Tonts (2004) concurs that bonding social capital can be found within tight knit sporting communities although there was also evidence of bridging capital at sporting events which was found to *'transcend class, ethnic, religious and other barriers'* (Tonts, 2005: 144).

Remaining within the domain of volunteering and sport clubs or associations, bridging capital is considered to be outward looking and inclusive unifying people across social divides, as proposed by Giddens and Sutton (2009). A similar point of view is shared by Harris (1998) who acknowledges that involvement in sport can develop both bridging and bonding capital as a competitor, spectator or official where new social connections and friendships can lead to the norms of trust and reciprocity. Social capital within voluntary sports' organisations may be attributed to individuals although Seippel (2006) suggests that, when extended across society, the manifestation of bridging capital rather than bonding capital is more appropriate. Roberts (2004) concurs that sports organisations have the capacity of bridging capital by bringing people together from all kinds of backgrounds and can be an important generator of socio-cultural capital. This approach is useful to try and understand the level of cohesion that exists in society, relevant within the themes of events, sports and volunteers as key informers associated with social capital and core elements of Highland games.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored key topics in the research literature which are central to this thesis. The objectives of the chapter were to place Highland games as a community event within an overarching leisure context placed in events literature, where event typologies were explored and associations established

between sport and tourism. The cultural and authenticity debate relates to community events with links to social capital theory that underpins the study.

Visiting events is often associated with leisure time and how individuals choose to spend their free time including as volunteers. By association, the formalised committees and volunteer activity relate to the organisers and communities and is connected to the first objective to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland.

The discussion of the concept and classification of event typologies determined the complications of defining and classifying multi-themed events. To contextualise Highland games, event typologies indicate the relationship between sport and culture. Thereafter an exploration of the literature connects events, sport and tourism bringing the three entities together as a focus for academic inquiry. At events there is often a heterogeneous crowd composed of local residents, visitors and tourists and it is the tourism aspect associated with event tourism that informs the discussion around the second objective to explore if Highland games contribute to event tourism in Scotland. The nature of heterogeneous crowds at events contributes to the fourth objective to explore socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of the audience.

A review of literature relating to cultural aspects of events and associated themes of transnationalisation and authenticity is presented. The imagery presented at Highland games draws on cultural literature and brings authenticity into the discussion. It is not unusual for not-for-profit community events to find difficulty accessing public funds for financial support particularly if such events are considered small or unlikely to attract tourists. This forms one of the challenges facing the volunteer organisers associated with external challenges of the third objective to explore the challenges faced by the volunteer organisers.

The final section of the chapter introduced social capital as the theoretical framework relating to the volunteer organisers, community spirit within the events, and the presence of a heterogeneous audience. The association with community and sport themed events, which includes individual and group associations, is considered along with tourists and day visitors, in relation to

exclusion, bonding and bridging social capital. Halpern's (2005) model was discussed as an appropriate framework to apply to Highland games and associated networks, norms and sanctions were applied. The social capital content is linked to the fifth objective to explore for evidence of building social at Highland games.

4 Research methods

This chapter presents details of the approaches adopted for the research design and data collection. Initially the approaches to data collection methods for events research are addressed and mixed methods options introduced. Thereafter the philosophical standings are set out prior to introducing the mixed method three phase research design for this study. The chapter provides justification for choosing a mixed methods approach and details the research strategy and primary data collection procedures. Thereafter attention turns to the questionnaire design of the quantitative and qualitative data collection methods before addressing sampling populations and survey administration. The chapter concludes with a discussion relating to validity, reliability, limitations and ethical considerations.

The research methods are designed to gather a broad spectrum of data relating to a relatively unknown subject that requires collecting data from organisers and spectators to answer the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1. The research objectives shaped the framework and guided the research procedures to ensure there was sufficient data to increase understanding and to serve as a foundation for future research (Ziakas, 2007). The first phase of data collection is designed to address the first research objective to assess the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland, identify links to event tourism for the second objective and explore for evidence of social capital relating to the fifth objective. In addition to identifying any social capital creation in connection with the fifth objective, the second data set is linked to the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of the fourth objective and exploring for evidence of event tourism associated with the second objective.

The final phase of data collection is associated with the third objective to explore the internal and external challenges of the organisers. In addition the interviews will capture evidence of event tourism in response to the second objective and evidence of social capital pertaining to the fifth objective. Some of the data corresponding with the objective themes will be drawn from both spectators and organisers.

4.1 Approaches and methods in events research

Within the field of events research employing surveys, random or systematic random sampling techniques are often used to enable the results to be extended to the whole population and may utilize different approaches depending on the research objectives. Historically, quantitative methods have been the preferred choice for event surveys. However, there is a growing acceptance that combining quantitative and qualitative research methods within a mixed method exercise provides a greater depth of knowledge and insight when exploring different dimensions (Bryman, 2009; Cresswell, 2014, Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). The extent of research designs applied for data collection at events can be somewhat eclectic (Gray, 2009) and may depend on the ease of approaching potential respondents within and around the event arena. Plus, collecting data from a mobile audience is likely to require alternative procedures than from a stationary seated audience. As experienced by Nicholson and Pearce (2001) at a closed door event, surveys were distributed prior to the performance to be collected at the end or deposited in a collection box. Potential respondents are not always readily accessible and when there are barriers preventing contact, a variety of measures may need to be deployed to capture data.

4.1.1 Data collection options at single and multiple events

In single study events the process may take the form of a single survey instrument or multiple methods as suggested by Getz (2009) and Saayman and Saayman (2011). Lee and Kyle (2013) used three surveys at one event as a multiple data gathering exercise, employing two online surveys combined with a survey distributed on location. Surveys provide essential information with self-completion questionnaires the most common event research methods (Getz, 2007; Shipway et al., 2010) due to obtaining data reasonably cheaply and providing immediate feedback (Getz, 2007). Another option is to gather contact details such as telephone numbers or email addresses to facilitate future contact, which is a less intrusive method that minimises detraction from the event experience (Shipway et al., 2012). Shipway et al., (2012) suggest the use of technology can be useful when employing online resource panels to

comment on events and can be particularly effective researching multiple events.

One of the most common methods of collecting data at events is to distribute self-completion questionnaires that are distributed and collected on the same day, or respondents are requested to return completed surveys to a specified collection point within the event. Self-completion surveys can be distributed in a number of ways, the most common following a normal random sampling process using the intercept procedure where every nth person is approached and everyone at the event has an equal opportunity of selection (Chhabra et al., 2003; Getz, 2007; Kemp. 2002; Nicholson and Pearce, 2001; Wilson, 2007). A random sampling process can be conducted at turnstile entrances as implemented by Light (1996) where a single exit enabled participant interviews to take place. This would not have been possible at events staged in public areas, for instance street festivals where there are no tangible boundaries or specific entrance and exit points. Alternatively, stamped self-addressed envelopes may be distributed with the questionnaires to be returned by post (Crompton and McKay, 1997; Mowen, Vogelsong and Graefe, 2003; Shipway et al., 2012).)

Convenience sampling was the preferred method for Schofield and Thompson (2007) who chose to administer on-site intercept self-completion surveys, a similar method implemented by Nicholson and Pearce (2001) and Wilson (2007) when conducting research across multiple events as part of a single study. When Saayman and Saayman (2011) encountered difficulties contacting potential respondents across multiple sports events they instructed the field workers to approach the competitors during the registration process as it was not feasible to contact participants during the event. Furthermore, when Daniels (2007) faced similar difficulties at multiple sporting events, parents were approached to provide contact details and a self-administered survey mailed to the contacts one week after the event. When researchers were prohibited from contacting competitors Chalip and McGuirty (2004) left surveys in a prominent position with incentives for the competitors to complete whereas at a fly fishing competition Nicholson and Pearce (2001) relied on the organiser distributing the surveys to be returned by post although this system proved to be unsuccessful.

When gathering data over a large geographic area it is not always logistically possible to travel extensively, therefore postal surveys were the preferred option for Brewster et al., (2009) and Crompton and McKay (1997) when surveying across multiple events. A postal survey was employed by de Bres and Davis (2001), Chhabra (2004) and Page and Connell (2005) and Seippel (2006) when researching elements associated with a single event.

Liang, Illum and Cole, (2008) employed focus groups to study distance travelled whereas Raj and Vignali (2010) and Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) conducted in-depth interviews to explore local experiences associated with cultural events. Meanwhile Jarvie (2003) chose case studies for a similar survey. Historical records may be the source of information for content analysis as Patterson (2012) and Whitson (2006) used when exploring the history and evolution of the Turakina Highland Games and the sport of shinty[35] respectively. The research design and data gathering procedures are likely to be shaped and driven by the accessibility of the respondents, geographical location of respondents and research objectives.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods are often used as a single survey instrument to collect data for event research or a combination of both as a mixed methods exercise. The choice of techniques is likely to be influenced by the philosophical preference of the researcher. Traditionally the philosophical underpinnings within the quantitative and qualitative paradigm have centred on the argument that arises from approaching the research problem from different epistemological assumptions, although in recent years it has become more commonplace to approach a single project adopting a mixed methods approach.

4.1.2 Applying mixed methods to event research

When mixed data gathering techniques are applied within a single study a greater depth and understanding of the research topics can be established and is useful within a social context (Snape and Spencer, 2009). As such, the number of research studies conducted using a mixed methods approach has

[35] Shinty is a competitive team sport which is played with curved sticks and a ball, mostly found in the Scottish Highlands

expanded typified by Tonts (2005) when researching associations between social capital and sports events, face-to-face interviews were followed by a postal survey. Davies and Williment (2008) chose the opposite process following self-administered postal questionnaires with semi-structured interviews when exploring event sport tourism. Meanwhile Derrett (2003) preferred to administer surveys followed by face-to-face interviews, media analysis and critical observation when trying to understand community's sense of place through events, and a mixed methods study enabled Ziakos and Costa (2010) to explore relationships where a combination of ethnographic studies, interviews and observation allowed wider access to the respondents.

Initial secondary data searches can be a useful starting point (Getz, 2007) when little is known about the topic or to scope the extent of the theme. DTZ Research (2007) conducted research on Highland games in Scotland choosing to review literature and conduct face-to-face interviews and telephone surveys with expert consultants. Ralston, Lumsden and Downward (2005) chose a self-completion closed response postal survey in conjunction with two sets of focus groups with volunteers conducted before and after the event whereas, Elstad (2003) chose semi-structured interviews followed by two questionnaires before and after the event when researching event volunteers. When surveying multiple groups Bendle and Patterson (2008) compiled a census of local art groups which was followed by semi-structured interviews.

Some academic researchers extol the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative methods in the same research project such as Ruting and Li (2011) who suggest a combination of quantitative surveys combined with interviews as the qualitative contribution for events research. A combination of mixed methods were employed to gather data using two methods for three surveys which fits with a pragmatic approach considered by Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) as the most useful mixed methods approach. Shipway et al., (2012) propose that combining methods as a mixed method approach can be used to provide answers and interpretation of the same questions to provide philosophical support for mixed methods approaches (Biesta, 2010; Creswell, 2014).

Employing a mixed method approach to data collection allows some flexibility in choosing methods that work best for answering the research question and preferred with an exploratory approach (Biesta, 2010). Where questions included in a later phase may have been informed by the previous survey (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010) in order to develop a broad understanding of the subject, which provides better opportunities to address the research objectives. As Bryman (2009) suggests, the philosophy of a mixed method approach has led to pragmatism emerging as the most suitable underlying philosophical principle whereby the researcher is free to choose whichever methods are deemed suitable to explore a research question. Snape and Spencer (2009) relate to pragmatism as a complementary strategy that addresses different types of research questions as opposed to introducing a competing or contradictory element.

A number of researchers such as Biesta (2010), Creswell (2014), Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2007) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010), propose the data acquired through mixed methods is best considered from a pragmatic approach. Where pragmatism allows knowledge to be drawn from both qualitative and quantitative data, choosing techniques that fit the purpose best (Cresswell et al., 20014; Gray, 2014) and allows investigative changes during the data collection process (Morgan, 2006). As an exploratory mixed methods research project, following a pragmatic approach is particularly useful when not enough is known about the phenomenon (Gray, 2009). Advocates of pragmatism focus on the consequences of practical action where practical considerations are given priority, and the value lies with human actions and knowledge constructed on the reality of the world experience (Barbalet, 2009; Gilbert, 2008; Gray, 2009; Robson, 2011).

The philosophical preference of the researcher may influence the choice of methods given that traditionally, positivists prefer quantitative surveys to answer hypotheses whereas individuals in favour of an interpretive stance are more drawn towards qualitative methods. Traditionally the philosophical underpinnings within the quantitative and qualitative paradigms have centred on the argument that comes from approaching the research area from different epistemological assumptions, although in recent years it has become more

commonplace to approach a single project by adopting a mixed methods approach.

4.1.3 Philosophical underpinnings of data collection methods

The study of events fits best into the social sciences mainly because of the reliance on human and behavioural disciplines. Social scientists are traditionally interested in the social relationships between individuals, the interaction with others within the context of the social world and how that social world has developed. Positivists believe that understanding can generally be achieved through researching phenomena from several different perspectives where the natural science perspective breaks everything down to facts and statistics. Meanwhile, the interpretivists prefer to understand the *'real'* world of individuals where everyone has their own unique perspective of *'self'* and social reality (Gray, 2009). The two traditions have caused significant debate among scholars (Bryman, 2012; Cresswell, 2014; Gray, 2009; Kent, 2007; Matthews and Ross, 2010; Phillips, 2000; Robson, 2011) where the preference depends on the researcher's point of view. The relationship between individuals and their surrounding world is the area that interests social scientists who strive to increase knowledge by understanding the subject (Matthews and Ross, 2010).

The main debate involves the dichotomy between the two main frameworks of positivism and interpretivism which some would argue are the most influential (Gray, 2009). The argument stems from differing approaches to the theoretical underpinnings between the followers of qualitative research methods and quantitative research methods. The long standing debate between the virtues of the two approaches is ongoing, with traditionalists preferring a positivist approach as the proponents of the differing paradigms posture the merits of interpretivism (Kent, 2007). Although Lazar (2009) and Robson (2011) suggest that within social sciences the arguments between interpretivism and positivism are diminishing

The main differences are that, from a positivist perspective, data is collected to test a hypothesis (Matthews and Ross, 2010) whereas interpretivists focus on understanding behaviours and how individuals interpret the world around them (Kent, 2007). The inference is that interpretivists prefer qualitative research

methods with a focus on social situations (Lazar, 2009; Robson, 2011; Seale, 2009) whereas positivists are more closely linked with quantitative approaches (Seale, 2009) that follow the natural sciences based on facts and statistics. Interpretivists argue that the constraint of reducing everything to statistics is not appropriate when researching humans, their beliefs and all their idiosyncrasies (Robson, 2011). On the other hand Phillips (2009) argues that the validity of the interpretation of behaviour from the interpretivist paradigm is questionable, although Matthews and Ross (2010) propose that either method may be used depending on how the researcher views the world.

Robson (2011) proposes that qualitative and quantitative research are not as clearly divergent as some argue, due to the fact that both research methods can use numbers or statistics and that they are not so distinctly separate in relation to focusing on meaning (qualitative) or focusing on behaviour (quantitative). Both can use inductive and deductive logic of inquiry to make generalisations (Robson, 2011). Seale (2009) concurs, stating that both qualitative and quantitative research tends to be an iterative process which includes both deduction and induction, and that quantitative research can be exploratory to a certain degree when unaccounted ideas and patterns may emerge when developing a hypothesis. When quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined, it may be necessary to include both positivist and interpretive paradigms (Kent, 2007).

4.1.4 The interpretivist inductive approach

The idea that employing solely quantitative methods to research the social sciences is not sufficient to produce true meanings or knowledge has gained recognition in recent years. Thus, interpretivist studies attempt to understand the meaning of actions of people who may be influenced by knowledge, ideas, hopes and desires (Phillips, 2000) or to understand behaviour through observation. It is concerned with understanding the meanings of social life which, according to Lazar (2009), cannot be gained from a positivist approach. Interpretivism does not rely on facts and statistics but rather subjective understanding and interpretation of social phenomena, where knowledge is gathered relating to people's interpretation of their social world (Matthew and

Ross, 2010) which enables social scientists to make sense of the chosen subject (Blaikie, 2008; Seale, 2009).

The interpretivist researcher tries to understand people and their behaviour from the subject's point of view (Phillips, 2000) and is focused on people in social situations (Robson, 2011). Lazar (2009) argues that methods used for the natural sciences are not sufficient to produce true meanings or knowledge or to provide a deep understanding of the researched topic (Silverman, 2006a). Furthermore, Matthews and Ross (2010) propose that understanding and the explanation of social phenomena are part of an interpretivist philosophy that requires focus on the subjective meaning and empathetic understanding of the subject (Bryman, 2008; Matthews and Ross, 2010) as opposed to statistical facts and factual measurement (Lazar, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2007).

The interpretivist approach usually follows qualitative data collection and can be in the manner of language, observation or other non-numerical forms according to Flick (2009) where inductive analysis provides a more flexible approach to answer the research objectives (Robson, 2011). The problem with the interpretivist approach is that it may not be representative of the population and replicating the procedure is unlikely to provide similar results which may interfere with validity issues according to Silverman (2006b).

4.1.5 The positivist deductive approach

Part of the argument is that positivists believe knowledge is produced through scientific methods where basic methodological principles are shared between natural and social sciences (Seale, 2009). From an epistemological position Bryman (2008) defines positivism as the application of methods of the natural sciences to study social reality and beyond, where the central aim is to work through deductive theory by quantitative data collection (Malhotra and Birks, 2007; Robson, 2011). Often associated with realism (Crotty, 1998; Flick, 2009) positivism follows reasoning based in fact rather than speculation (Lazar, 2009; Matthews and Ross, 2010) or philosophical speculation (Gray, 2009) which conflicts with interpretivist thinking. A positivist approach requires scientific observation carried out through scientific data collection (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2009) with the researcher independent and objective of producing data that can

be measured, analysed and predicted (Gray, 2009; Kent, 2007; Matthews and Ross, 2010).

The positivist researcher views the world as a natural scientist where people and their behaviour are studied from the outside and models and theories are developed to explain the subjects (Flick, 2009). Central to this is data that can be analysed through statistical analysis where data is measured and quantified, and turned into numbers based on what people do or say and where validity and measurement are important (Kent, 2007; Robson, 2011). A critical theoretical process enables the study to be repeated (Robson, 2011) ensuring validity. That is why large quantitative data sets are collected and measured by statistical analysis to test a hypothesis (Matthews and Ross, 2010) and complex causal relationships are identified along with emerging relations (Blaikie, 2008; Kent, 2007). A positivist deductive approach is normally linked with using hypotheses to prove assumptions.

Structuring the research data across both paradigms from a pragmatic stance provides the opportunity to establish data that is valid and reliable through the positivist approach, whereas the interpretivist perspective provides a broader depth of knowledge. To collect facts it was necessary to conduct quantitative research prior to investigating the subjective observations of participant organisers and experts, which is more appropriate when focusing on meaning derived from attitude, feelings and motives (Robson, 2011).

4.2 Research design for multiple Highland games

Little is known about the Highland games in Scotland in terms of academic research which this study intends to address by answering the five research objectives outlined in Chapter 1 and in the introduction of this chapter. The study follows a process to explore the *'real world'* of Highland games through the reality of socially constructed knowledge (Gray, 2009). There is a need to generate understanding (Seale, 2009) and derive knowledge by employing successive data gathering procedures using a combination of data collection methods.

Mixing methods allows a pragmatic approach and some fluidity in the research procedures even although combining quantitative and qualitative research methods may result in adopting both positivist and interpretative perspectives (Kent, 2007). Following the philosophy of Bryman (2009) a mixed method approach enabled the researcher to choose the most suitable methods to answer the research question. Thus, combining the two perspectives increases the strength of the process when investigating the perceptions of the respondents by asking *'why'*, *'what'* and *'how many'.* The *'how many'* responses will be found within the two sets of quantitative data whereas the *'what'* questions will be answered from both qualitative and quantitative data to inform both statistical and nominal data. The questions for the qualitative data allows probing of topics and increased depth of information in order to answer the *'why'* questions. Although Ritchie (2009) and Matthews and Ross (2010) suggest that often a qualitative stage precedes the quantitative stage, this research initiated two quantitative fact finding processes with the qualitative stage concluding the project.

4.2.1 Mixed method approach

Social sciences research can be broadly categorised into the three groups comprising quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodology since mixed methods has become more accepted as a separate research design (Creswell, 2014). A mixed methods or longitudinal study (Lewis, 2009) combines more than one single research method and is identified as a research strategy in its own right (Bryman, 2009; Cresswell et al., 2003). The idea of approaching a research project using mixed methods has gained prominence in recent years supported by authors such as Bryman (2009), Gray (2009), Malhotra and Birks (2007), Morse (2003),Ritchie (2009), Snape and Spencer (2009), Tashakkori and Teddlie (2010) and Creswell (1994, 2003). Mixed method research strategies help to answer complex research questions, providing flexibility by using a variety of methods (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). It is also considered, by Blaikie (2009) and Bryman (2008), to be a more efficient way of understanding the phenomenon than using qualitative or quantitative methods alone. Mixed methods enhance description resulting in a deeper understanding of the findings through corroboration and by improving consistency and validity

(Johnson et al., 2007). It also prevents an overreliance on a single research method which enhances confidence in the findings by verifying one set of findings with the others (Bryman, 2008; Sandelowski, 2003).

Combining strategies can enhance the research project and strengthen the study (Creswell, et al., 2003; Finn et al., 2000), as mixed method approaches ensure a wider range of issues can be covered, even if there is an imbalance of methods where one method is more prominent than the other. Typically, a combination of methods may introduce a qualitative data collection as one phase with two phases of quantitative data, where the qualitative data results enhance the statistical results (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007; Flick, 2009), and some of the emerging themes from the surveys can be explored further in the subsequent interviews (Bryman 2008; Gray, 2009). Conversely Matthews and Ross (2010) propose that either method may implemented as the initial data collection process followed by any combination of one or both qualitative or quantitative methods.

Blaikie (2008), Bryan (2008), Flick et al., (2012) and Gray (2009) propose triangulation as a method to integrate data from multiple sources, to converge and corroborate the results. In doing so a broader more complete understanding of data sets (Veal, 2011) help to understand the constructed reality and perceptions of the people involved (Kent, 2007). The benefit of employing a triangulation process across multiple data sources is to reduce uncertainty in interpreting the data (Gray, 2009; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). As a result, the findings can be cross-checked for consistency to enhance confidence in the overall conclusions drawn from the research findings, and increase the validity of constructs (Seale, 2009). The process reduces method bias, inquirer bias or biases in inquiry context according to Blaikie (2008) and Gray (2009).

However, there may be some concerns in a broader context where the legitimacy of combining methods can be brought into question as stipulated by Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003), where overuse of triangulation can dissipate the meaning of the results. Flick et al., (2012) concur that convergence between results can be difficult to attain, a position shared by Bryman and Bell (2008) who suggest it might not be possible to corroborate the findings and as such

may question the validity of the research (Morse, 2003). Meanwhile, Flick (2009) and Finn et al., (2000) argue that although qualitative and quantitative methods may be linked in the same research project the results could be contradictory or complementary,

The main impediment for legitimisation of a mixed method approach by authors such as Bryman (2009), Robson (2011), Spicer (2009), White et al., (2009) occurs when questions arise over the preference or dominance of one method over the other, or when there are unequal amounts of independence (Bryman, 2009; Gray, 2009). Ritchie (2009) places qualitative research as a precursor to statistical measurement to provide greater understanding of issues and the development of categories, whereas Gray (2009), Robson (2011) and Shipway et al., (2012) typically prioritise quantitative over qualitative, integrating the two methods during the interpretation phase of the study. Alternatively White et al., (2009) suggest that either quantitative or qualitative data may drive the project.

It appears that the methodological preference of the researcher is likely to influence the balance of integration due to greater knowledge of one of the methods over the other, or the ability of the researcher may constrain integration of the findings (Bryman, 2009). A mixed method approach was considered the best option for this research study given the purpose of gathering a broad set of data on an under-researched topic. As advocated by Getz (2007), Mathew and Ross (2010) and Shipway et al., (2010) combining a few interviews with a large scale questionnaire can be beneficial, since the two approaches can be complimentary when used in a mixed method approach

4.2.2 Rationale for a mixed method design

It is important to provide a clear rationale for combining research methods (Bryman, 2009) therefore the justification of approaching the study using mixed methods is now addressed. This empirical exploratory research project set out to capture a large amount of data from different sources connected with Highland games therefore a mixed method design was considered to be the most appropriate to meet the objectives of the study. The data collection was targeted at different segments of the population and required the application of both qualitative and quantitative surveys.

Although this research used a mixed method approach, the bulk of the data collected followed a pragmatic approach to allow flexibility. The majority of the data was collected by surveys, however within the survey instrument most of the data was categorical therefore could be analysed within interpretive and inductive paradigms. Positivism and interpretivism are not always mutually exclusive therefore as suggested by Kent (2007), pragmatic consideration was given to the entire process of data collection.

In this study a sequential method follows a linear pattern with each stage leading to the next (Bryman, 2009; Flick, 2009; Kent, 2007; Morse, 2007; Robson, 2011; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003). The process was clearly delineated with the initial quantitative stage used to develop the subsequent two stages, as suggested by Gray (2009). The final qualitative stage involved further exploration of key topics to find out more accurately what was *"going on"* in the *'real world'* and to provide further insights (Creswell et al., 2003; Morse, 2003; Gray, 2009).

There is very little written documentation in existence which records the evolution of Highland games and if there are documents that do exist they may be held by individual committee members scattered across the country. Although the researcher had some knowledge of Highland games which helped to shape the research strategy, there was an element of the unknown (Lewis, 2009) from an academic perspective due to the lack of academic inquiry. This was taken into consideration when designing the research strategy as Finn et al., (2000) and Veal (2011) suggest some knowledge of the research area is required. Therefore an exploratory study was conducted (Gray, 2009; Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010; Malhotra and Birks, 2007) to obtain insights and background information about the Scottish Highland games. Compiling data from an initial survey identified events that influenced further research on the general structure of the organising committees and some crucial detail pertaining to the size of the events, which was used to determine further stages of data collection. For the purposes of this study neither quantitative nor qualitative data by itself was considered to be sufficient to answer the research objectives (Bryman, 2008). Consequently, combining research quantitative and qualitative methods was considered a necessary process (Gray, 2014).

In order to ensure a robust methodological process, careful consideration was given to research methods which could provide comprehensive data sets and provide meaningful original data. To address the research objectives a variety of methods were implemented.

4.3 Research strategy

There have been few studies or empirical research conducted on Highland games in Scotland and these deficiencies will be redressed with this unique original exploration of the Highland games. The study will not only provide an insight into the organisation of events but also supply specific data on individual events to be combined and extrapolated across Scotland, building a foundation for future academic research. Most existing studies focus on historical and socio-economic dimensions of the events whereas this study leans toward socio-cultural and demographic interest and event management issues. There are few, if any, completely accurate records of the number of Highland games taking place in Scotland, largely because there are some very small localised events and the number of annual events frequently fluctuates. The study will redress this paucity of information by providing an up-to-date account of Highland games and their place in contemporary society. The starting point was to develop a research strategy that would generate data to answer the research objectives. It is not expected that all data sets will answer all the research objectives therefore the data gathering procedures have specific aims to respond to one or more research objectives (see Table 4.1). The first objective sets the context of events, the second addresses issues of event tourism and the third to identify challenges faced by the organisers. The fourth objective determines the socio-demographics of spectators and the fifth to explore for evidence of social capital associated with Highland games. The first objective is answered by the first data collection from organising bodies and an Internet search. In response to the second objective related to event tourism suitable data is found in all three data sets and the data concerning challenges collected during in-depth interviews with organisers and experts. The fourth objective is answered by the event surveys and the fifth objective relating to social capital is derived from all three data sets (see Table 4.1).

Table 4. 1 Research objectives, data required and data collection methods

Research Objective	Data Required	Data Collection Method
1. To establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland	Information regarding organisational structure of committees.	- Search of websites to identify the number of events Postal survey sent to organising committee members
2. To investigate if Highland games contribute to event tourism	Confirmation of tourist overnight stays in Scotland by individuals not normally resident in Scotland Travel patterns	- Postal survey - Event survey conducted at multiple events - In-depth interviews conducted with organisers and experts
3. To explore the individual and collective challenges faced by the organisers of Highland games	Substantiation of influencing factors on the organising committees that may impede or facilitate event operations.	- In-depth interviews conducted with organisers and experts and partners
4. To explore the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of the spectators	Combination of personal data such as occupation, age and normal country of residence	Event survey conducted at multiple events
5. To determine if Highland games contribute to building social capital	Evidence of relationships and interaction between individuals, groups and organisations.	- Postal survey sent to organising committee members -Event survey conducted at multiple events - In-depth interviews conducted with organisers, experts and partners

(Source: author)

Surveys were used to collect data from organisations scattered across a wide geographical area of Scotland (Brace, 2004; Brewster et al., 2009; Page and Connell, 2005) and members of event audiences at multiple events (Nicholson and Pearce, 2001; Patterson, 2008; Wilson, 2007). The final data collection exercise was to conduct semi-structured interviews with individuals associated with Highland games. As little was known about the scale of events in Scotland the research design followed a longitudinal sequential process (Bryman, 2009; Cresswell, 2014; Flick, 2009; Kent, 2007; Morse, 2007; Robson, 2011; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003) based on a sequential explanatory strategy. The qualitative data collection followed the quantitative data collection proposed by Creswell (2014) and Robson (2011). Existing events were identified and

background information sought by means of an initial survey followed by a second audience survey conducted across multiple events and a final qualitative data set to complete the data gathering process.

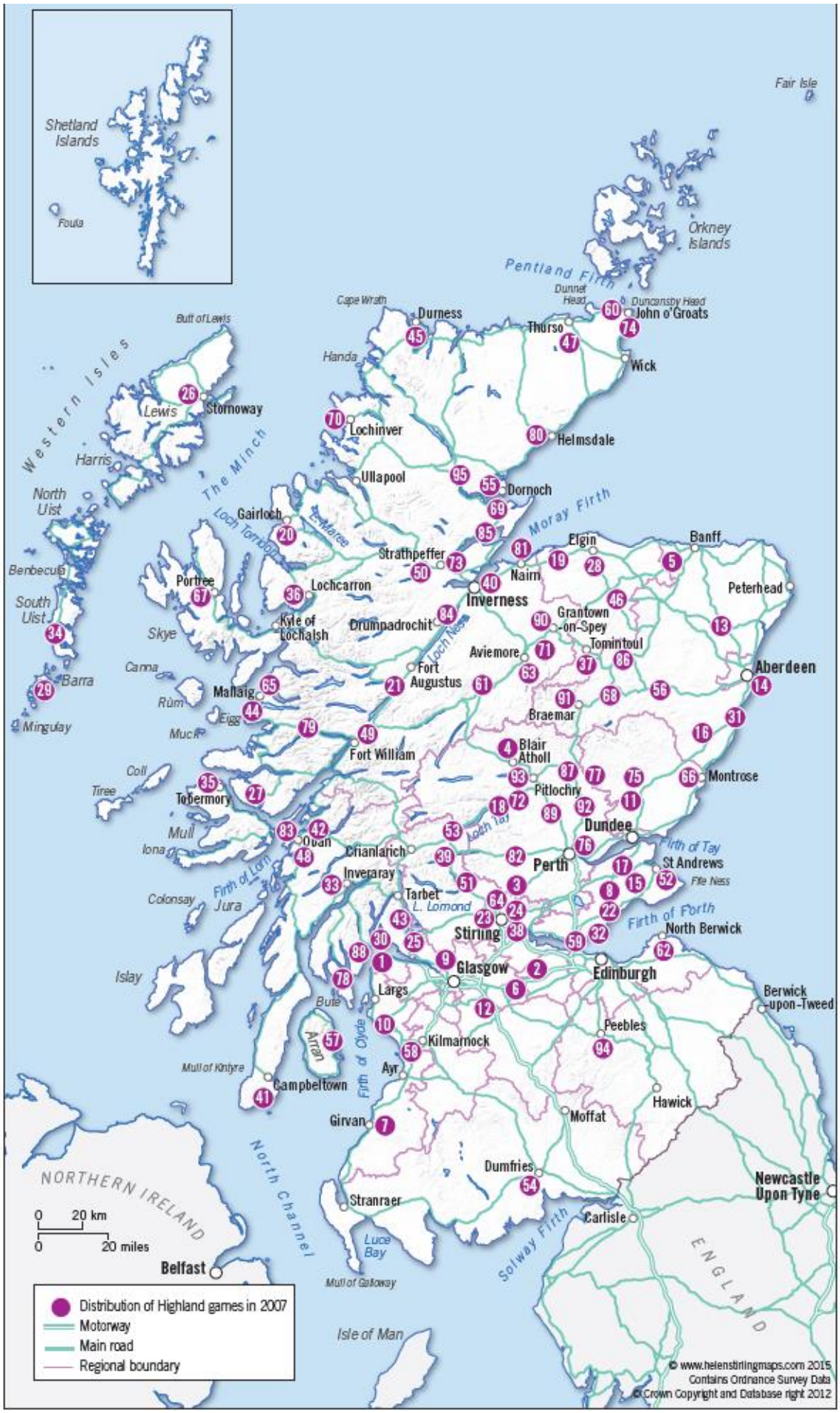
The initial quantitative stage was used to shape the subsequent two stages (Gray, 2009) with some aspects of the statistical evidence from the initial research driving the project. The final qualitative stage involved further exploration of key topics and supporting themes (White et al., 2009) to find out more accurately what was *"going on"* (Morse, 2003) in the *'real world'* (Gray, 2009) and to provide further insights (Creswell et al., 2003). The organisers provided the source of data for the first and third data collection with the largest second survey conducted with spectators attending the events. Although the stages were processed individually it was impossible to completely isolate the three dimensions from within the same field of inquiry (Ritchie, 2009).

The data sets would provide substantial information to be incorporated into the final interview stage as an holistic process (Gray, 2009). When triangulated the resulting data is expected to corroborate and converge to provide a deeper understanding of how the events fit with contemporary society. Some of the data collected by the organising committees in the first data set was used as a source of information when interviewing respondents for topics worthy of further exploration. The voluntary aspect of organisations and operations within a wider financial environment were explored as a key feature of sustainability. To gain a better understanding of this phenomenon it was necessary to gather information from members of the event audiences and individuals involved in organising events or experts with specialist knowledge of Highland games.

4.3.1 Primary Research: the data collection process

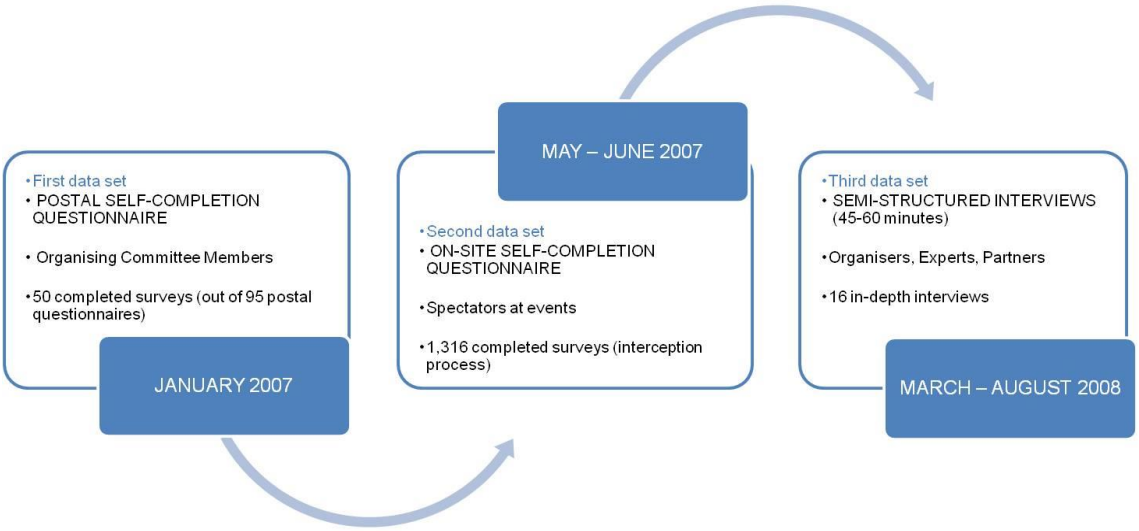
In order to gather sufficient data, three stages of data collection took place over a 20 month period beginning in January 2007 and completed in August 2008. Two quantitative surveys preceded a qualitative data collection exercise. To begin the process 95 events were identified to be held in Scotland although it later transpired that not all events had been captured in the initial search (see Appendix F for a current list). Figure 4.1 illustrates the 95 locations of identified scheduled events (see Appendix B for a full list of names).

Figure 4. 1 Distribution of Highland games in 2007



The first phase resulted in 50 usable surveys, the second phase returned 1,316 questionnaires, and the final phase accounted for 16 in-depth interviews to explore emerging themes in greater detail (see Figure 4.2). The interviews were useful to provide a rich source of information (Snape and Spencer, 2009) when searching for deeper insights and understanding from the organisers' perspective.

Figure 4. 2 Sequential exploratory design of data collection



(Source: author)

Due to the annual occurrence of events between mid-May to mid-September and restricted timescale there was limited opportunity to collect data. The data gathering exercise followed a longitudinal sequential process proposed by Bryman (2009), Cresswell (2014), Flick (2009), Kent (2007), Morse (2007), Robson (2011) and Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003). To reach the target populations it was necessary to administer a postal survey during the initial phase as the event organisers were geographically spread across the country (Brace, 2004; Getz, 2007).

The first surveys were posted in January 2007 with a follow up questionnaire sent in February 2007 to non-responders. The second stage involved identifying a number of suitable Highland games where surveys could be conducted and was based on approximate audience size, geographical location and urban or rural environment. The second stage produced the largest data

set that was collected at events between mid-May and mid-September in 2007. As the population across events was unknown a target of 1,000 completed valid surveys was considered a representative sample (Veal, 2011). The process was based on the suggestion by Finn et al., (2000) and Shipway et al., (2012) that quantitative methods are better suited to large scale studies. The qualitative data in the form of semi-structured interviews was conducted with experts, partners and members of organising committees between March and August 2008.

A framework for collecting relevant data was adapted to highlight key concepts and relationships within the study illustrated in Table 4.2. The concepts are related to key themes beginning with the customers as the population where respondents attending events are defined by visitation patterns to delineate between day visitors and tourists. In order to be representative of Scotland it was important to select a variety of events from a range of geographical locations and to understand travel patterns of respondents. The following concept of visitor experiences relates to event familiarity and frequency of attendance, not only at the event where the survey was conducted but extending beyond Scotland to the global environment.

Table 4. 2 Key concepts and relationship with Highland games

Concept	Definition	Operationalisation
Customer	Staying overnight or local resident	Spent more than one night in the area
Catchment area	Geographical area from which visitors travel	Distance travelled to attend the event
Visitor experience	Familiarity with event	Frequency of attendance
Quality of activities	Competitive activities	Order of preference
Visitor characteristics	Socio-demographic and cultural characteristics	Age, occupation, group size, accompanying children

Adapted from Veal (1997:45)

There are a number of different competitive and entertainment components at the events which may be an influencing factor when making the decision to attend, therefore it was pertinent to attempt to identify the most appealing activities. Finally, in order to generate a better understanding of the visitors,

socio-demographic and cultural information assisted in mapping the customer base of attendees. These key concepts help to frame the field of research and support the research objectives.

A total of 95 Highland games were identified as a starting point although during the course of this study and after the initial search stage, it was found that some very small community Highland games (personal communication, 2008) had been omitted that would be difficult to locate without personal knowledge. When a recent search was conducted to update the current list of Highland games it transpired that a few other events had been overlooked in the initial search therefore, were not included in the study (see Appendix F for updated list). The completed forms from the initial survey highlighted the events that were willing to be involved in further research, and data received on the size of the event audience assisted to identify the target population for the following data gathering processes. Due to time constraints and limited budget it was not possible to conduct research on the total population of 95 events (Appendix B) therefore a sample of events were chosen to be broadly representative of events across Scotland.

4.3.2 The sampling population

The sampling population for each stage of the process was adapted specifically in order to ensure a representative sample was included in the study. It is not always possible to conduct a complete census of the population therefore it is important to collect data from a representative sample. As the methods differed between each stage the sampling procedures are addressed separately following the strategy proposed by Kemper et al., (2003) when implementing a mixed methods research design.

For many scholars the preferred method of data collection is probability or random sampling to capture a representative sample of the whole population which ensures that every person has an equal chance of being selected. This method provides a level of confidence (Finn et al., 2000; Veal, 1997) and can eliminate the potential for bias. In this research both probability and non-probability sampling were utilised in order to satisfy the research strategy and to ensure the most appropriate approach was employed to gather significant data.

4.3.2.1 Phase one – postal survey

Prior to initiating the postal survey an Internet research resulted in a total of 95 events (Figure 4.1) to be scheduled in Scotland in 2007. The first survey was designed as a scoping process to map out the extent of events and background to answer the first research objective. As an unknown entity the first phase was crucial to make contact with individual organisers that may provide assistance in the following data collection phases. The data collected during this initial stage may also highlight event tourism activity if the organisers suggest the presence of international tourists at the events, which would contribute to the second objective in connection with event tourism. It is also assumed that associations with social capital will emerge to address fifth objective.

Therefore in the first phase it was fundamental and realistic to target the whole (known) population and conduct a census (Kent, 1999). As proposed by Flick (2009) the sampling framework was the whole population therefore a census was conducted by means of a postal survey. For the purpose of continuity any new events that emerged after the initial survey were not included in this research.

4.3.2.2 Phase two – face to face self-completion survey

This data gathering process was expected to deliver the largest number of completed surveys therefore there was an expectation that the data would answer the second objective to explore associations with event tourism, the fourth objective to determine socio-demographic characteristics and the fifth objective to explore if Highland games contribute to building social capital.

There were two stages involved in developing the second data collection process. Firstly, suitable events had to be identified for data collection based on geographical location (Finn et al., 2000), gate admissions and urban or rural environment. From the 50 returned surveys in the first phase it was determined that surveying at 15 events would provide sufficient data to be representative of Scotland, which is 30% of the 50 responses and 15.7% of the 95 events found across Scotland. Although Veal (2011) advocates that it is not necessary to

achieve a specific percentage of the population, collecting data at 15 events was deemed to be adequate for this research project.

Collecting data required both probability and non-probability sampling procedures. Initially fieldworkers adopted convenience non-probability sampling when they were mobile, implementing the *'first to pass'* system developed by The Tourism and Recreation Research Unit (1995). The process followed the principle that when the researcher had a completed survey returned the next individual or group *'first to pass'* was approached. When the researchers were stationary a random sampling method was adopted following an intercept process where each individual had an equal chance of being selected (Kemper, Stringfield and Teddlie, 2003; Prentice et al., 1998). This method used a random sampling method of approaching every nth person similarly to Chhabra et al., (2003), Getz (2007), Kemp (2002), Light (1996), Nicholson and Pearce (2001) and Wilson, 2007.

The first to pass system may not be considered the most scientific method of selecting people at large events according to Finn et al., (2000), however it was considered the most useful as many potential respondents were standing or seated around a central arena. Problems encountered at outdoor events may include the ebb and flow of people which may depend on variables such as the time of day, the day of the week or even the weather conditions (Veal, 1997). Taking these potential challenges into consideration and the landscape where the surveys were conducted the *'first to pass'* (The Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1995) system was considered to be the most appropriate method to employ.

4.3.2.3 Phase three – in-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews were specifically structured to answer the third objective which focused on the organisers and the internal and external challenges they face. However prior to the interviews taking place, it was expected that the interviewees would divulge details that would contribute to answer the second objective exploring event tourism and the fifth objective searching for evidence of social capital creation.

The third phase employed a combination of convenience and purposive non-probability sampling techniques (Kemper et al., 2003; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 1998) as the interviewees were chosen based on their expert knowledge of events and geographical location. Purposive sampling is considered unsuitable by Malhotra and Birks (2007) because of the potential for bias and lack of theoretical meaning, however as an integral part of the study this was not considered to be a disadvantage. The third phase differed given that it was a qualitative study based on a series of in-depth interviews with respondents that may have been involved with the first data collection exercise.

A total of 16 interviews were conducted with 14 acting committee members of current Highland games, one expert and one partner. The basis for choosing 16 people to conduct face-to-face in-depth interviews was to gather sufficient rich data to be representative of the population. The decision to incorporate qualitative research in the study was to explore events from a *'real life'* point of view and fill in any gaps (Gray, 2009; Ritchie et al., 2009) which was particularly useful when so little was known or recorded about this phenomenon (Gray, 2009).

4.3.2.4 Sampling error

Within different sampling procedures it was important for the researcher to be aware of errors to mitigate bias and replicate a representative sample. Some errors may occur through inaccurate data processing, poor administration of the questionnaire or failing to clearly identify the sample population, as this makes it impossible to accurately calculate sampling error (Finn et al., 2000). There could also be potential sampling error when constructing categories from data provided in open-ended questions (Veal, 1997). Awareness of potential sampling errors and bias was eliminated by the researcher through careful design of the questionnaires and employing pilot tests.

4.3.2.5 Non-sampling error: Phase one – exploring the population

Collecting accurate data in the first phase presented a problem due to the fact that many of the organisers did not keep accurate records of statistics and

some were unwilling to provide all of the information requested. As proposed by Finn et al. (2000) and Iacobucci and Churchill (2010), non-response or exclusion either willingly or unwillingly may introduce non-sampling errors and was one of the most common non-sampling errors at this stage. However, with a 53% return from the target population there was enough data to form some representative analysis and conclusions.

Any problems with literacy were not considered problematical with the interviews since by virtue of their position within organising committees (secretaries, treasurers and presidents) it was unlikely to have been a factor. Probably the biggest concern with the postal survey was that it was difficult to determine if the recipient or the most appropriate person was the one who completed the questionnaire (Bloch, 2009; Finn et al., 2000; Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010). Including too many open ended questions may have caused some problems as a number of the surveys were incomplete with some respondents indicating information was confidential or not available.

Wide variations in responses made analysing some of the data cumbersome when trying to construct categories for open ended responses, although they were categorised under appropriate headings to provide a manageable data set. Finally, the respondents may have been too busy or could not be bothered or lazy to write an appropriate answer (Veal, 1997).

4.3.2.6 Non-sampling error: Phase two – event survey

As the largest part of the data collection, this survey created its own challenges as it was not possible to accurately define the sampling frame over multiple events where spectators were the targeted respondents. The sample size was primarily determined by time and economic constraints although the logistics of travelling to a number of events across Scotland and the weather conditions were also determining factors. At some events the inclement weather conditions reduced the number of completed surveys due to the challenges of writing on wet paper and where access to potential respondents was limited when shelter was sought from the weather.

Following the non-probability method of purposive sampling, specific events were selected to ensure a cross section of events were suitable locations based on size, geographical location (Malhotra and Birks, 2007) and urban or rural environment. Arguably, this may not be representative of the population as the probability factor cannot be determined (Malhotra and Birks (2007) and sampling error cannot be assessed in a process where the researcher may impose judgement (Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010). However in this instance, the events were carefully selected to ensure a heterogeneous sample to be representative of the population and as all the events are unique and diverse in content this was not considered to cause non-sampling errors. Therefore the data would be concluded as reliable and valid based on the possibility to generalise the data to a wider population.

Although the events were chosen through purposive sampling techniques the surveys distributed at the events followed both a random sampling when the researchers were stationary and non-random processes when mobile to maintain reliability and validity.

During the data collection stage non-sampling errors may occur in the interpretation of responses, errors in coding or when reporting the results (Finn et al., 2000) as well as administration errors, although these were avoided through diligence when working with the data (Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010). As far as possible, all reasonable measures were taken to nullify any potential non-sampling errors by using the data in an objective manner. Some of the more common disadvantages of self-completion questionnaires were addressed in the design of the survey, such as clear questions to avoid any misunderstanding (Finn et al., 2000) which can result in poorly completed questionnaires (Veal, 1997). People with low levels of literacy had the opportunity to respond negatively to the questionnaire (Bloch, 2009; Finn et al., 2000).

The environment in which the second stage research was conducted was very conducive to positive response rates as there were very few refusals, less than 3%, across the whole data gathering exercise. The 1,316 completed usable surveys were considered to provide a representative sample population.

4.3.2.7 Bias: Phase two – event survey

On completion of the event survey it was identified that some of the respondents were accompanying family members who were competing at the event which may have introduced some bias toward competitive activity responses. However, this was not considered to be to such an extent that it would skew the data to an extent to negatively impact on the results. In order to prevent bias on the part of the researchers, the random and non-random sampling procedures outlined in Section 4.3.2.2 were followed employing interceptive and 'first to pass' (The Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1995) approaches.

Internal and external circumstances may influence how people respond at any particular moment in time in terms of internal factors such as attitudes and behaviour which may be affected by external factors such as the weather at an outdoor event (Veal, 2011). On several occasions data collection had to terminate earlier than anticipated due to inclement weather conditions. A number of factors had the potential to introduce bias at outdoor events such as the researcher arriving late therefore missing people who were there early, or leaving early therefore missing people who arrive late. To eliminate this potential bias the researchers ensured they arrived at the event before it started whether that was 9.00 am or noon. Shipway et al., (2012) suggests that if potential respondents had only just arrived they would be unable to respond meaningfully although this was not found to feature at the events. Limited or restricted access to some areas may have inadvertently introduced some bias due to reduced ability to access the whole population. These were the main issues encountered during data collection at the outdoor events which may

4.4 Questionnaire design and administration

In order to reach respondents two distinct surveys were developed to gather a wide range of data across distinct themes comprising of a postal survey and a self-completion face-to-face survey. Both contained a selection of open and closed questions however, there were differences in the type of questions included. Both questionnaires sought to elicit a favourable response by incorporating a selection of logical and uncomplicated set of questions.

The process was based on a combination of steps designed by Czaja and Blair (2005) and Iacobucci and Churchill (2010). The five stage process designed by Czaja and Blair (2005) consisted of designing then piloting the questionnaire and amending accordingly before the survey design was finalised and conducted alongside the final stages of data coding and analysis. Iacobucci and Churchill (2010) developed a seven stage process framed around slightly different criteria.

Following questionnaire design procedures, questions were set in a pre-arranged order (Malhotra and Birks, 2007) simple, straightforward, easy to understand and free from ambiguity (Veal, 1997), excluding leading or double barrelled questions (Bloch, 2009; Seale, 2009). As with most questionnaires easier questions were placed at the beginning and personal demographic questions at the end (Finn et al., 2000; Veal, 2011); no filter questions were required (Veal, 1997).

To ensure the questionnaires were easy to follow a clear set of instructions headed the survey along with details of its purpose (Brace, 2004; Gray, 2009; Veal, 1997) and where necessary branching or funnelling information guided the respondent (Brace, 2004; Gray, 2009). A number of different styles of questions were included to expand the type of data collected (Malhotra and Birks, 2007) with category questions identifying frequencies and ranking questions for identification of key components and themes (Gray, 2009). Simply constructed questions based on a five point Likert rating scale provided the respondents with a number of options when exploring attitudes and opinions (Malhotra and Birks, 2007) and provided an insight into comparisons and similarities between different groups (Veal, 1997). Some fixed-response alternative questions were included and although Malhotra and Birks (2007) suggest that this may result in loss of validity from emotional or points of view aspects, in this instance the questions strongly and clearly related to themes within the events.

Open-ended general questions were an appropriate way to introduce the respondent to the survey prior to introducing more specific topics as suggested by Iacobucci and Churchill (2010). To maximise the richness of data, Malhotra and Birks (2007) suggest the inclusion of some unstructured or open ended

questions. Although Gray (2009), Malhotra and Birks (2007) and Veal (1997) concur that there can be analysis problems when constructing categories from open-ended questions. A mixture of continuous scale and discrete answer selections provided varying levels of data (Shipway et al., 2012) from both surveys.

Set in a logical order, basic information preceded more complex information seeking questions with the classification aspects at the end. This proved useful when identifying different segments of the population and the demographic nature of the visitors (Brace, 2004; Finn et al., 2000; Gray, 2009; Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010).

4.4.1 Phase one: questionnaire design – postal survey

Due to the paucity of readily available documentation on current Highland games, it was essential to gather information to establish some baseline data of the events. The data would help to shape the research strategy. The data collected in this initial survey would provide insights to the structure and characters of individual events and utilised as a scoping exercise to answer the first objective to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland. The data will also contribute to the second and fifth objectives respectively in connection with event tourism and social capital.

The two page survey (Appendix C) was sent to organisers of the events. It contained 28 questions which included a variety of closed and open questions and as the researcher was not present, clear instructions were included to guide the respondents (Finn et al., 2000). Categorical questions were coded at a later stage for ease of analysis (Gray, 2009) and the open questions were designed to gather accurate and specific statistical information to provide a rich and detailed source of data (Bloch, 2009; Brace, 2004; Gray, 2009). The survey was completed by respondents in their own time over a suggested two week time frame.

A number of open ended questions provided the respondents freedom to elaborate and articulate their own responses (Veal, 1997). Some questions requested statistical information dating back several years which was likely to

require a search, thus, two weeks was considered appropriate for the respondents to collate statistical data and extra information (Block, 2009; Brace, 2004; Gray, 2009).

Key topics included the inaugural year, formalisation of the committees and the size and scope of their specific event. The data received helped to develop and shape the framework and acted as a guide for the next two research stages. The final question identified willingness to co-operate in future research which was vital to identify willing participants and potential venues for the next two phases of data collection.

4.4.1.1 Phase one: pilot test – postal survey

The questionnaire was sent to four event organisers and their opinions sought on the design and ease of completing the questionnaire. No changes were required although there was some doubt expressed in terms of the level of information that may be available to respondents since many of the organisations did not keep accurate records of the events. It was decided to proceed with the survey without alteration as this could provide useful information on access or lack thereof of record keeping

4.4.2 Phase one: administration – postal survey

The first step was to conduct a search of the Internet which resulted in the identification of 95 events (see Figure 4.1), mostly retrieved from the www.albagames.co.uk website from which a valid mailing list was constructed (Malhotra and Birks, 2007). Many of the contact addresses were also retrieved from the albagames website (www.albagames.co.uk) and the survey was sent with a covering letter and pre-paid return envelope. Where there was no obvious address, communication was conducted by email or telephone to one of the listed contacts to establish the most appropriate address to send the survey. This process developed a mailing list for all 95 events. However, there is no certainty that the surveys reached the most appropriate person to complete the survey, although some were required to present the survey at committee meeting level for approval. A postal survey was the most efficient

way to contact the population scattered throughout Scotland (Bloch, 2009; Crompton and McKay, 1997; Finn et al., 2000; Mangione, 1995).

The first sets of questionnaires were posted in January 2007 accompanied by a pre-paid envelope to encourage completion and return (Appendix C) and sent with a covering letter explaining the purpose of the survey and requesting assistance (Gray, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2007; Veal, 1997).

After two weeks a reminder was sent to those who had not responded (Gray, 2009) which resulted in a total of 50 completed questionnaires equating to 53% response rate which exceed the normal response rate of 30% or 40% proposed by Veal (2011). Although Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) advocate the need for extensive reminders to non-respondents, the 50 completed returns were considered sufficient for the purpose of this research. The response rate was deemed to provide a satisfactory representative sample therefore no further reminders were sent (Gray, 2009). Although the level of anonymity is generally considered high in a postal survey (Malhotra and Birks, 2007), for the purpose of this study it was crucial to associate completed surveys with named events, especially as some of the content informed decisions relating to data collection at the events.

4.4.3 Phase two – questionnaire design – event survey

There were slight differences in the design of the postal and face-to-face self-completion survey due to the nature of the information being sought (see Appendix D). The event survey required less detail and was shorter in order to minimise the time respondents would be detracted from the event experience (Shipway et. al., 2012). This would enable respondents at the events to complete the survey in an informed manner as without sufficient knowledge the surveys could not be completed adequately (Bloch, 2009; Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010; Malhotra and Birks, 2007). Anyone already at the event had gained sufficient knowledge to complete the survey. The data gathered at events would address the second objective to explore for evidence of event tourism, the fourth to determine socio-demographic and cultural characteristics and the fifth objective to determine if Highland games contribute to social capital creation.

At the events, self-completed questionnaires were the preferred and most efficient method to collect a large quantity of data within the logistical time frame and budgetary constraints (Gray, 2009). It was also important that the questionnaire was not too long to avoid interfering with the event experience and facilitated in the completion of a greater number of questionnaires (Shipway et al., 2012; Veal, 2011).

Due to the high numbers of completed surveys expected at the events this questionnaire had mostly closed questions for ease of coding and analysis (Malhotra and Birks, 2007). A few branching or funnelling (Brace, 2004) questions were included to collect further data from people with more experience and knowledge of Highland games (Brace, 2004).

4.4.4 Phase two: pilot test – event survey

To ensure there was value in the data collection it was essential that a pilot test be conducted at an event (Shipway et al., 2012). As it was not possible to identify people who would attend the events prior to the event taking place, it was decided the best method was to conduct a small scale pilot study (Brace, 2004) at one of the first events of the season where approximately 35 surveys were returned. This enabled minor changes to be made prior to continuing the main survey (Brace, 2004) although it was difficult to anticipate all dimensions of possible permutations encountered across all such limited duration events (Nicholson and Pearce, 2001).

Due to the ranking nature of one question it was found that respondents were unsure how to respond and although the answers would have provided a richer source of information, the question was altered. The style of question (Q19) primarily asked for six preferred activities to be ranked in order of preference from 1 to 6 however some respondents ranked all the activities the same while others ticked boxes, which did not provide the data sought. The options were reduced to ranking the top four which resulted in a more accurate and complete set of responses.

4.4.5 Phase two: survey locations and administration – event survey

The process of selecting the events where surveys were to be distributed was a lengthy process. The rationale was to choose a number of venues that would be representative of Scotland, and the options were restricted to those events where respondents had indicated an interest in further research. Of the 50 completed surveys from the first survey, fifteen events indicated they did not want to participate in further research, reducing the number of events to 35 possibilities.

There were certain key difficulties that had to be overcome during the process. Initially the underlying principle was to choose an equal number of events from different regional areas of Scotland. However, the task was not a simple process, in part, influenced by the location of the researcher in the southern region of Scotland, and the uneven spread of events across the regions. Highland games are prevalent in the north and west of the country (see Figure 4.1).

For the purpose of this study the survey was conducted during one summer season and was restricted by the scheduling of events between mid-May and mid-September. Most events are staged on Saturdays and Sundays with multiple events taking place on the same day for example on 21st July there were five events and six on the 4th August (see Table 4.3). Therefore simply basing the choice of events on regional distribution or geographical location was not possible, since some events that were at preferred locations had to be ruled out, as it was not possible to conduct more than one survey on any given day due to travel and time constraints.

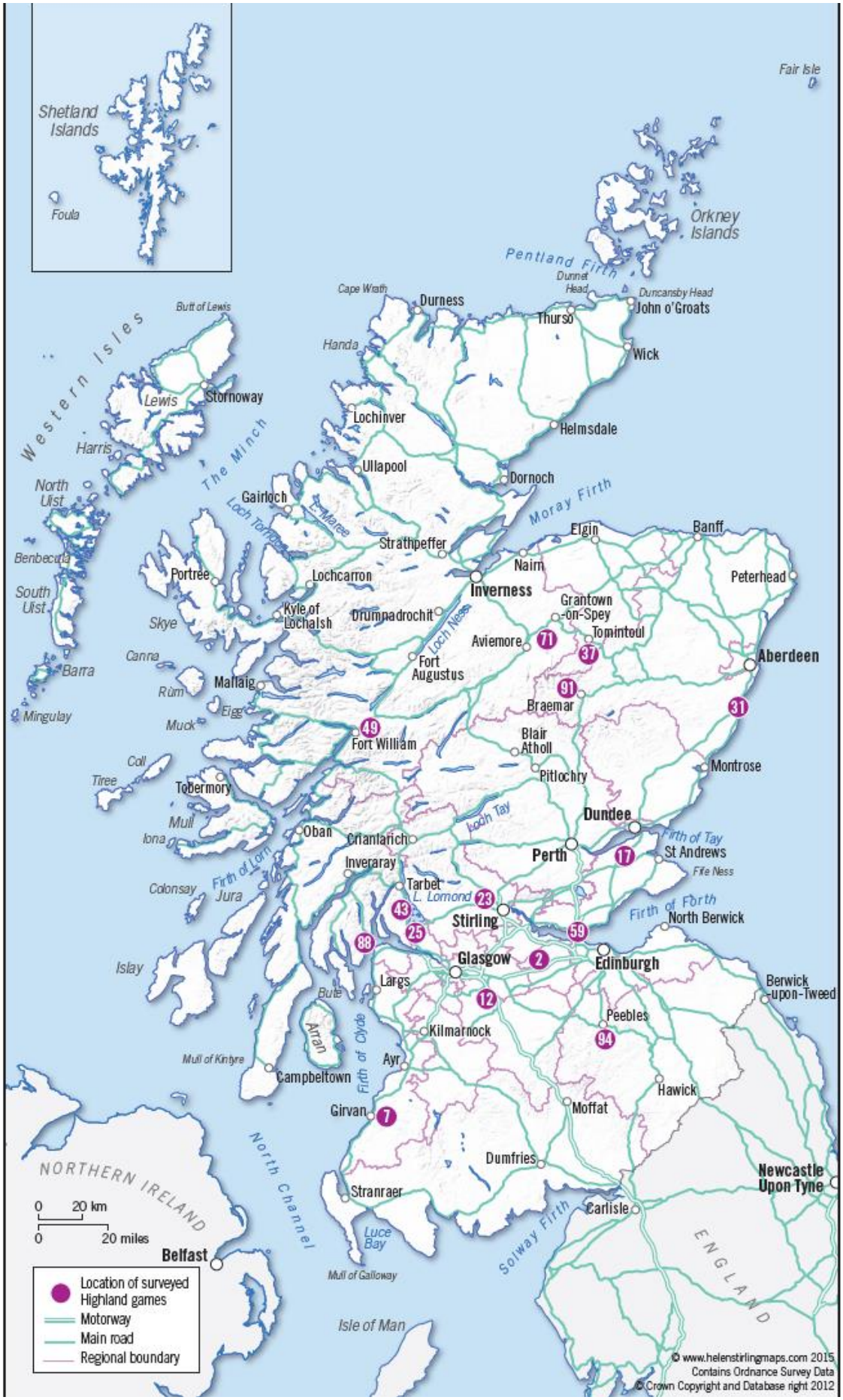
Table 4. 3 Scheduling of the Highland games from the 50 responses returned

May		28th	Lochaber
25th	Bathgate	28th and 29th	Callander
26th and 27th	Blair Atholl	29th	St Andrews
June		**August**	
2nd	Shotts	3rd	Dornoch
3rd	Carrick	4th	Mey
9th	Bearsden & Milngavie	4th	North Berwick
16th	Lesmahagow	4th	Dundonald
16th	Old Meldrum	4th	Brodick
17th	Aberdeen	4th	Inverkeithing
		4th	Newtonmore
July		5th	Bridge of Allan
1st	Cupar	5th	Mallaig and Morar
4th	Kenmore	8th	Isle of Skye
7th	Thornton	9th	Ballater
8th	Stirling	11th	Atholl & Breadalbane
14th	Lewis	11th	Strathpeffer
14th	Balloch (Loch Lomond)	11th	Abernethy
15th	Rosneath &Cylinder	12th	Cortachy
15th	Stonehaven	18th	Glenfinnan
17th	Inverary	18th	Helmsdale
21st and 22nd	Inverness	24th and 25th	Cowal
21st	Taynuilt	25th	Glenurquart
21st	Tomintoul		
21st	Lochearnhead	**September**	
21st	Locharron	1st	Braemar
22nd	Luss	8th	Pitlochry
25th	Arisaig	9th	Peebles
27th	Durness		

The time required to travel to events was a key logistical factor when planning journeys, particularly if events were to be surveyed on Saturday and Sunday of the same weekend. The selection of events was finalised based on travelling time to the location and the number of events to be surveyed i.e. reduce the number of events surveyed and achieve an equal spread across the regions or include as many events as possible. A decision had been made early in the research design to administer surveys at as many events as possible due to the lack of previous studies. To satisfy the research strategy fifteen events were chosen based on three main criteria; the number of gate admissions, regional location and whether the event was staged in an urban or rural environment. Events were selected with similar criteria to Nicholson and Pearce (2001) where consideration was given to size, geographical location and urban or rural setting. As each criterion was considered, the number of options decreased making the selection process increasingly challenging. The fifteen selected events are illustrated in Figure 4.3.

The original 95 events were numbered in accordance with the schedule date (see Appendix B) and from those 95 events, fifteen were chosen as suitable locations to conduct surveys. In order to retain consistency with the numbering system the fifteen event locations retained their original allocated number presented in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4. 3 Location of Highland games where surveys were distributed



4.4.6 Phase two: distribution – event survey

To achieve the target of 1,000 completed questionnaires, it was necessary to use between two and four fieldworkers to assist with the data collection and at each event the fieldworkers were briefed on the procedures prior to distributing surveys. Most of the events were enclosed behind fences or barriers with specific exit and entrance points. Conducting research surveys at events can be quite challenging and although some authors suggest that points of entry and exit are good locations to survey visitors (Finn et al., 2000; Getz, 2007; Light, 1996), event organisers stated specifically that entry and exit points had to remain clear of any blockages thus, warranting these locations unsuitable.

There was a consistent plan of action followed at each event. The researchers arrived before the event began in order to meet the designated contact and check the layout of the field/arena. Another consideration of some consequence was whether there was a seated area and if it was accessible to the researchers. When an admission fee was required to enter the seating areas the organisers did not permit access.

Although many arenas are based on a comparable layout, each event was unique and varied in the number of arenas (some had two) as did the number and placement of trade stands and entertainment booths. Some events had a separate arena for Highland dancing or slightly different layouts therefore procedures had to be modified at each event in a similar process to Nicholson and Pearce, (2001). To adapt to each event a mixture of mobility and stationary data collection processes were followed as advocated by Veal (2011).

Initially, the researchers were mobile, moving around the arena approaching each group or individual following the same method employed by Nicholson and Pearce (2001). A survey was distributed and the researcher only moved forward to the next group when a completed survey was returned. Specific points were allocated as starting points i.e. loudspeaker poles or other obvious features around the arena. A similar method was employed when distributing surveys in seating areas. When the fieldworkers were stationary they followed the first to pass process (Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, (1995).

Whereby, after a returned survey had been completed and checked the next individual or group approaching was selected.

The general mode of operation was replicated at each event, although sight modifications were required to accommodate the different configurations of space. As the spectators began to arrive there was a tendency to find a suitable '*spot*' around the central arena where social groups would set out chairs and settle in preparation to watch the main competition.

Starting at agreed points around the arena each group or individual was approached. Following a similar method of distribution employed by Nicholson and Pearce (2001) across multiple events, surveys were distributed only after completed ones were returned. Continuously moving in one direction, if people settled at the ringside after the fieldworkers had passed they did not return, but consistently travelled in the same direction until a full circuit of the arena had been completed. When a full circuit of the arena was complete or the arena became too congested to conduct the survey without disturbing the spectators, the researchers re-convened for further instructions.

If there was a seated area, depending on the configuration and size, and ability to move around, the researchers started at either end only approaching the next individual or group person after the completed survey was returned and checked (Nicholson and Pearce, 2001). Every accessible group or individual was approached to avoid bias or fieldworkers picking and choosing who to approach, therefore minimising bias (Veal, 2011). Most of the seating was designed as terraced benches so it was relatively easy to move between the rear seats and the front seating in an organised manner.

After surveying the arena and seating area (if any) the pre-arranged locations when the researchers were to be stationary, were checked for suitability and not susceptible to congestion, as event numbers generally increased during the duration of the event. If determined as suitable sites, the fieldworkers re-located at the pre-determined locations with instructions to remain in a stationary position (Finn et al., 2000; Veal, 1997). The locations had been pre-determined as areas of high footfall, and the selection of respondents followed a random sampling process approaching every nth individual or group

(Chhabra et al., 2003; Getz, 2007; Kemp. 2002; Nicholson and Pearce, 2001; Wilson, 2007). The fieldworkers were able to face any direction thus, if there were no potential respondent coming from one direction, they could face a different direction in order to maximise the number of completed surveys.

The researchers did not enter any marquees, or approach people at the trade stands or entertainment booths to avoid interrupting the attendees' enjoyment of the event. Competitors, officials or anyone obviously working at the event were excluded and were normally easily identified by wearing official badges or competitive clothing. Groups or individuals were given one questionnaire to complete and the respondents were left to complete the survey in their own time addressing the questions in any order (Brace, 2004). Although the researchers remained close by to help with any queries or provide assistance (Shipway et al., 2012; Veal, 2011). When returned the surveys could be checked for any incomplete answers and addressed at the time to ensure a greater number of fully completed surveys,

This data gathering exercise focused on event spectators at the events with the objective to collect as many as possible without interfering with the respondents' event experience. When the event became so congested that potential respondents were difficult to approach, or so involved in the event experience that to approach them would disrupt enjoyment of the event, the data gathering exercise was halted. Inclement weather conditions also interrupted data collection at a few events. There were very few refusals resulting in a substantial number of completed returns (Veal, 2011). Although Brace (2004) suggests it can be difficult to collect sufficient samples to be representative of the wider population, the 1,316 completed and returned questionnaires were deemed sufficient.

The events varied in length with some starting in the morning around 9.00 am or 10.00 am and others starting around noon. One event was staged across three days so in line with the other events the survey was conducted on a single day at the weekend. Regardless of the time of day the event started, the researchers arrived for opening time and remained there between four and five hours.

4.4.7 Phase three: semi-structured questionnaire - interviews

The interviews with key individuals involved in Highland games were focused around a semi-structured design to address similar topics with all participants (Appendix E). The key topics directing the interviews were loosely formed around the local community, tourist activity and committee operations. The wider environment pertaining to support and association with central government were discussed prior to exploring the perceptions of contemporary and future challenges.

4.4.8 Phase three: administration – interviews

Conducting in-depth interviews with key individuals was essential in order to expand on emergent themes from the two previous data gathering exercises. It also provided an opportunity to explore further some of the more personal opinions and attitudes towards the events in terms of the continuance and importance of Highland games in the twenty-first century. The interviews were designed to gather data to respond to the second, third and fifth objectives in connection with event tourism, internal and external challenges and social capital.

The interviews were conducted in a venue of the respondents' choice and previous communication between the researcher and respondents eliminated problems associated with trust to allow a relaxed informal discussion. Following a purposive sampling technique, participants for the interviews were selected based on their knowledge and expertise of Highland games rather than selected to be a representative example of the population (Flick, 2009). The researcher personally contacted potential respondents to extend invitations to take part in the in-depth interviews. To protect anonymity it was not possible to differentiate between genders as there is a high possibility that some of the participants were aware of the contribution by others. Therefore the respondents were identified by their position with an organising committee or considered to be an expert as detailed in Table 4.4.

Some respondents are currently serving committee members, whereas others were chosen for the close relationship and involvement with Highland games.

Individuals involved in Highland games operate in a very close environment where most of the people are known or familiar with each other therefore it is necessary to restrict the interviewees' direct associations with Highland games to protect anonymity. Collectively the interviewees are referred to as the *'organisers'*.

Table 4. 4 Participants in the interview process

	Chairman
2	Expert
3	Partner
4	Treasurer
5	Treasurer
6	Secretary
7	Secretary
8	Secretary
9	Treasurer
10	Chairman
11	Secretary
12	Secretary
13	Chairman
14	Secretary
15	Treasurer
16	Chairman

All requests for interviews were accepted except for one event where the organisers were unresponsive despite repeated attempts to contact the organisation. Most respondents were involved in organising the events and accounted for 16% of the total population of 95 events. This was not considered to be an inappropriately influencing factor as Veal (2011) maintains it is the size of the sample that is important rather than the sampling population. In most cases, it was the person initially contacted to gather data from the first survey that was the initial point of contact. It was not known if the individuals chosen were the most appropriate to conduct the interviews (Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010), although as active committee members and experts heavily involved in Highland games, their ability to provide insightful information was not questioned.

The meetings were arranged in a place of convenience for the respondent; and took place in a variety of locations. Five were conducted at places of work in quiet spaces, and five at peoples' homes where there was little interference or disturbance by outside noise. Other venues such as pubs posed more challenges, because although the spaces were quiet there was some background noise, although there was minimal interruption or disturbance. The interview conducted in a garden centre required the proprietor to reduce background music and the café owner directed the respondent and interviewer to a quiet room to minimise noise levels. However, the most challenging environment was the interview conducted in a motorway service station where the lack of any acoustics rendered the environment rather noisy. Although a few environments had higher noise levels than others, there was no loss of information since the recorded noise distortion was minimal and the content audible.

Although some interviews took place in public areas every effort was made to be located in a quiet area where there were minimal interruptions or distractions, which was amenable when addressing some of the more sensitive topics. With the interviews lasting between 45 minutes to one hour there was sufficient time for the topics to be explored in-depth (Gray, 2009) and provide a substantial data set (Iacobucci and Churchill, 2010).

All interviews were designed to be loosely guided by a set of topics (see Appendix E),were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim (Veal, 1997) including nuances in the voice, hesitation, laughter, noises of expression and intakes of breath, which ensured a better recollection of the rapport and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. There had been some previous personal contact established with a few of the respondents which introduced a modicum of trust and meant that there was little need to *'ease'* the respondents into the process. However, for the other individuals who had no previous personal contact with the researcher a little more time was required to include the formalities of introduction along with detailed instruction and re-iteration of the purpose and process of the interviews.

The data gathering exercise elicited a rich source of data providing information from individual organisers pertaining to attitudes, experiences and perceptions

of Highland games (Snape and Spicer, 2009). By providing an opportunity to express personal feelings, attitudes and points of view (Gray, 2009) respondents discussed elements of their own individual events and country wide issues. Respondents were considered to be able to relate relevant and comprehensive information to increase knowledge and understanding of the events, by allowing the researcher greater flexibility and an opportunity to probe beneath the surface (Byrne, 2009; Legard et al., 2009; Lewis, 2009). The issue of challenges, public interest and SHGA would provide data to answer the third objective of challenges faced in the twenty-first century and evidence of the occurrence of event tourism to address the second objective. Some responses were also expected to highlight the creation of social capital to answer the fifth objective.

Key topics had been identified in the previous surveys and were employed as a guide when developing the questions (Legard et al., 2009). Interviews followed a semi-structured format (Appendix E) with open ended questions (Silverman, 2006), informally covering a check list of topics in no particular order (Bloch, 2009; Veal, 1997). As the conversation developed naturally topics did not follow a strict structure although potentially sensitive areas were covered in a delicate manner (Snape and Spencer, 2009). Following a similar format at all interviews enabled key questions to be directed in a comparable manner to each participant and where required questions were clarified to ensure all topics were equally covered (Arthur and Nazroo, 2009; Bloch, 2009).

Although a singular study within a wider data gathering process, there were some disadvantages of gathering qualitative data in terms of bias, validity and reliability.

4.4.9 Phase three: bias, validity and reliability – interviews

Iacobucci and Churchill (2010) suggest that even with the disadvantages of conducting qualitative research it is a useful means for an exploratory project as previously unknown phenomena may be highlighted (Seale, 2009). A further consideration was gathering qualitative data through purposive sampling. Although this method is suitable for an exploratory survey there can be a tendency to introduce bias by the researcher (Malhotra and Birks, 2007). The

respondents were chosen to be representative of the population and although it can be difficult to replicate qualitative research, there is strength in the expertise and robustness of respondents which gives validity to the findings (Veal, 2011)

Although face-to-face interviews can be expensive and time-consuming it was necessary to cover a wide geographical area (Bloch, 2009; Gray, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2007) in order to reach a proportionate sample of respondents across Scotland. There were no obvious barriers gaining access to respondents (Flick, 2009) as they had previously been identified as willing participants. One problem faced by the researcher was that respondents may have been unwilling to tell the *'truth'* by avoidance of actual facts or bending the truth to embellish the situation (Veal, 1997). However, the researcher had been in communication with the organisations for some time, thus minimising most issues of trust (Gray, 2009; Silverman, 2006; Veal, 2011) by having previously established a rapport with the respondents creating credible validity.

There is also validity in the triangulation process through credibility and trustworthiness of the findings (Blaikie, 2008; Bryman, 2008) by means of corroboration. According to Bryman (2008) there are four key areas to produce credible findings; first of all, credibility achieved by following good practice and through transferability by producing rich descriptive accounts; dependability by maintaining complete records of all phases; and finally, conformability whereby the researcher has remained objective not allowing personal values to influence the research gathering process or the findings derived from the analysis.

A further consideration was that interviewees may have answered in a manner they thought was the desired outcome or that personal characteristics influenced responses (Bloch, 2009). Furthermore, the desire to be portrayed in a socially better light or portray a different image (Brace, 2004) may also have influenced responses. None of the aforementioned was considered an issue as most of the respondents welcomed research into Highland games as deserving attention.

It was important that the researcher remained neutral to avoid introducing bias and influencing the respondent therefore questions were carefully worded and any influencing tone of voice avoided (Bloch, 2009; Brace, 2004; Byrne, 2009;

Gray, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2007). To eliminate bias, the same amount of time was allocated to all respondents and the interviews were standardised in the form of semi-structured to ensure similar topics were introduced at each interview. It is likely that there was some bias in terms of time associated with specific topics within the interviews. However it is not considered substantial enough to seriously skew or present a major flaw within the data set.

4.4.10 Phase three: limitations – interviews

The interviews were limited to a 45–60 minute restricted timeframe as proposed by Kent (2007) and Veal (2011). This was sufficient time in order to present the semi-structured interview questions. Following a semi-structured interview format resulted in a variance in questions to the respondents so not all questions were addressed with conformity. Prior to the qualitative data collection, themes had already been developed through previous data gathering processes following *'loose'* labels suggested by Spencer et al., (2009) in order to develop categories which may have restricted some topical discussion.

To ensure anonymity in accordance with Flick (2009) and Silverman (2006b), some of the references were disguised or omitted due to the unique activities and partnerships in place, when it was felt certain information could be associated with a particular person or event. This was felt to be of particular importance as some of the interviewees interact through networks and existing links with other events and may have been aware of interviewee participation. Some respondents provided more comprehensive information than others which is not unusual considering the uniqueness in content and committee structure of each event.

In order to preserve anonymity respondents have been identified by the position held within their organising committee or interest and allocated a number as detailed in Table 4.4.

4.4.11 General ethical considerations

To avoid encroaching on negative ethical issues, the same ethical considerations were afforded to all respondents during data gathering processes. As well as the inadvertent introduction of bias, it was important that

ethical issues were considered and adhered to (Brace, 2004; Lewis, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2007) and as such all participants were provided with information about the purpose of the study, the organisation conducting the study and the amount of time it would take to complete. Information was also provided specifying the survey was confidential and anonymous and that no information would be forwarded to a third party (Brace, 2004; Flick, 2009; Lewis, 2009; Malhotra and Birks, 2004). It was also important that people clearly understood the process before agreeing to participate. No respondents under 16 were permitted to complete the survey. In accordance with the Data Protection Act, 1998, all the information was gathered lawfully, the researcher and institution were clearly identified and any sensitive information was treated confidentially (Brace, 2004; Flick, 2009; Gray, 2009).

Except for the initial survey where it was essential to identify the organisation completing the survey, no identifying comments or statements that could be attributed to an individual or group were included to ensure anonymity (Lewis, 2009). It was known where the surveys were to be distributed although the individual respondents were personally unidentifiable. Ensuring anonymity had the potential to be difficult at times (Flick, 2009) as respondents for in-depth interviews came from different organisations and could potentially be identified through the provision of unique information or reference to a unique aspect of the event. Therefore, it was necessary to ensure that during analysis information that had the potential to identify an individual or event was excluded. Names and addresses were not required for the on-site survey which prevented any breach of confidentiality or anonymity (Veal, 1997).

Prior to interviews taking place, informed consent was granted and all respondents agreed to be recorded. Respectful of their wishes, at times it was requested that some information divulged should not be included in the research. All informants were advised participation was on a voluntary basis and briefed on the need for the research and that they had the ability to stop the interview at any time.

4.4.12 Approach to data analysis

Data was collected in three phases to encapsulate a wide range of issues, initially through identifying all the events taking place in Scotland which was followed by a major survey conducted at a number of events across the country. To provide a comprehensive understanding of these events the final survey approached experts and event organisers using in-depth interviews to provide a level of detailed information that was not possible to collect through quantitative methods. Although some of the themes are present in more than one data set the distinct surveys are addressed separately providing clear delineation between the data sets (Cresswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

The quantitative data provided both statistical and categorical data in order to answer the research questions. As this exercise was focused on gathering unknown data to frame future research most of the findings are descriptive in order to better understand the research topic.

The first data set consisted of a data gathering process in order to understand the scope and scale of Highland games, the organisation of committees and some financial data which was a fact gathering process that did not require complicated statistical measurement. Most of this data was analysed using univariate and bivariate processes as a platform for shaping further data collection procedures. The event survey employed statistical data to map out some relationships and associations through univariate and bivariate processes by cross tabulation and performing Chi-square statistical inquiry and Cramer's V tests in order to build knowledge and understanding of Highland games. There was increased opportunity with this data set to explore relationships and associations between variables.

The qualitative data derived from the interviews was assessed manually utilising a thematic framework where key statements were noted according to the themes associated with the relevant objectives (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002; Strivastava and Thomson, 2009). A framework was compiled and as each interview was assessed information was added to the framework slowly building content until all interviews had been processed. Thereafter the key themes

derived from this process were identified and noted for interpretation and contextualisation.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed approaches to event research covering single and multiple site studies along with a range of event research methods prior to discussing the suitability and appropriateness of employing a mixed method approach. Reflections on philosophical underpinnings were considered followed by an in-depth discussion on the rationale and processes employed to collect data following a mixed methods research design strategy.

The rationale for employing mixed methods was to gather a significant amount of data to explore Highland games from the perspective of members of the audience and the event organisers. Data was collected in three phases to encapsulate a wide range of issues, initially by organisers to provide a general overview of individual events followed by a survey conducted with event goers across multiple events which generated 1,316 responses. Finally, to provide a comprehensive understanding of Highland games from the perspective of the organisers, 16 in-depth interviews provided detailed information that was not possible to collect through quantitative methods. The research design and implementation were considered across the three data collecting processes building from survey design to execution incorporating reliability, validity and ethical considerations.

Although some of the themes may be present in more than one data set, each survey has been presented independently to demarcate three distinct sets of analyses. The first section sets out the background information gathered from organising committees. The second analyses the data collected at the events and the third returns to organisers and experts for an in-depth exploration of Highland games in contemporary society. The following chapter presents the findings from the first set of data.

5 The Extent and Structure of Contemporary Highland games in Scotland

In the previous chapter the empirical research design and mixed method strategy were introduced along with the three phase data gathering processes. The aim of this chapter is to present the findings from the first data set that was sent to the event organisers. To seek to understand the scale, scope, organisation, management and operation of Highland games in Scotland, a postal survey instrument was developed and sent to all known event organisations (see Appendix C).

This research was designed as an exploratory scoping exercise, to generate preliminary data as an evidence base of Highland games within a contemporary Scottish setting, this survey helped to establish the broad contours of the field (Silverman, 2006b). The findings establish Highland games in a formal setting within contemporaneous society where the topics are centred on operational and formal structures within a community setting. The findings presented are significant to add to event literature and understanding of the diversity in scope and scale of the events, audience composition and financial matters.

The analysis follows a pragmatic process setting out the Highland games at a distinct point in time. Some of the findings were instrumental to frame the second phase of data collection based on specific criteria, such as admission numbers as an appropriate measure of scale. Following a similar method as Crompton and MacKay (1999) organisers were asked to provide an estimate of audience attendance if accurate figures were unavailable.

Initially, the chapter presents the geographical distribution of the events across the regions of Scotland and the inauguration of the events provides some historical context. The next section explores the operational structure of the committees and introduces the scale of events based on admission figures to provide an insight to the variances in scope and scale of the events. Thereafter, the organisers indicate the origin of the event audience between several variables from local to international visitors and whether visitors may be

spending more than one day in the vicinity of the event. The latter sections of the chapter address financial matters relating to sponsorship and public sector support, which are of particular importance to not-for-profit community events. The final section presents an updated list of current Highland games in Scotland.

This data set addresses the first objective is to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland. The findings also contribute to the second and fifth objectives relating to event tourism and social capital respectively. Finally, key emergent themes are distinguished that set the foundation for the next two phases of data collection, where general information pertaining to financial data and attendance figures were instrumental when developing further data collecting exercises.

In order to maximise input the standard confidentiality statement excluded identification of sensitive financial data. Therefore any financial information is analysed collectively and grouped by region. Many of the respondents either chose not to divulge financial data or were unable to do so due to lack of accurate records. As a result most of the financial data was insufficient and is excluded from these findings. The responses were analysed through SPSS using univariate and bivariate analysis. The univariate findings present fundamental details to build a knowledge base and to protect anonymity the individual events have been grouped by region. The bivariate analysis employed cross tabulation to determine associations and relationships between the regions, audiences, and financial matters.

Figures relating to audience attendance were particularly sporadic and where there were no admission fees it was difficult to accurately record audience numbers. Nevertheless, the findings present a broad range of events distributed across most regions of Scotland with the oldest events established sometime in the 20 year time period from 1800-1820.

5.1 Highland games: formalisation and operationalisation

This exercise followed a pragmatic approach in order to distinguish certain facts and realities concerning organisational and management issues. The 50

returned surveys represented a 53% response rate which was greater than a typical 25 or 30 per cent response rate (Kent, 2007; Veal, 2011) therefore the findings were sufficient to provide meaningful results and to be representative of Scotland.

A total of 95 events were found in Scotland (see Figure 4.1). The number of events fluctuates from year to year (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1 for further discussion) and a few small events with no website presence were not included. Further, some events appear to have terminated and yet others have been established or re-established (Appendix F provides a current list of events). The knowledge that the number of events is likely to have altered since the commencement of this study bears little implication on the outcomes but does demonstrate the fluidity of these events. The exploratory initial fact finding survey helped to establish the broad contours of the field (Silverman, 2006b) of study.

To place the events within a geographical and historical context Scotland the events are defined by year of inauguration and the events were separated into ten regions which embrace the diversity and variety of communities and landscapes within Scotland.

The regions consisted of the Highlands, the Borders, Argyll, Ayrshire, Perth, Grampian, Fife, the Central Belt[36], Orkney and Shetland Islands, and Dumfries and Galloway. The Borders region in southern Scotland was found to hold annual 'games' in six locations at Jedburgh Border Games, Kelso Border Games, Hawick Games, Morebattle Border Games, Selkirk Common Riding Games and St Ronan's Border Games. These events are primarily light track and field events rather than Highland games that reflect the historical sporting activities traditionally favoured across Scottish regions (Tranter, 2007). For this reason, these events were excluded from the research. A slight anomaly is the Border Gathering (54) which is staged in Dumfries and Galloway although the name infers otherwise. (see Figure 4.1). The majority of information on the Highland games was sourced from the albagames website

[36] The Central Belt is arbitrarily defined as a broad segment of land from Edinburgh on the east coast to Glasgow on the west coast.

(http://www.albagames.co.uk/) which was a website dedicated to Highland games and provided the most comprehensive list of current Highland games in Scotland.

Table 5.1 illustrates the number of returned surveys by region. The Highland region had the highest number of 15 returned surveys followed by the Argyll region to the west of the country which returned nine surveys. The combined total of 24 returned surveys from these two regions accounted for just under half of all the surveys. It is not surprising these two areas generated the most responses since historical records suggest the forbearers of Highland games arrived in Argyll from Ireland (Calloway, 2008; Ray, 2001; Webster, 2011) and an event was staged at Braemar in the 11th century (Colquhoun and Machell, Grant, 1961; 1927; Jarvie, 1991; Webster, 2011) suggesting a historical association between place and games (see Chapter 2 section 2.3 for a detailed discussion).

Table 5. 1 Regions of Scotland and Highland games

Region	Number of Events	Valid Percent
Argyll	9	18.0
Highland	15	30.0
Grampian	7	14.0
Perthshire	4	8.0
Fife	4	8.0
Central	8	16.0
Ayrshire	2	4.0
Borders	1	2.0
Total	50	100.0

(Source: author)

Events were found to be geographically located across all regions except Dumfries and Galloway and the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The lack of historical documentation on Highland games creates some difficulty when explaining the geographical variances of the events across the country. As the

southern most region of Scotland the events may not have been as well established in Dumfries and Galloway as in other areas to receive the local support required. Whereas, the most northern islands of Scotland experienced a quite different social and cultural history that sets them culturally apart from the rest of the country. When the Irish were landing in Argyll in the fourth century, around the same time Davis (2007) proposes there was already an English presence on the Shetland and Orkney islands. However, due to the arrival of the Vikings and their enduring presence, the island culture evolved separately from the Scottish mainland, following the Viking or Norse influences and it is these cultures and traditions that are upheld on these northern islands. Scholars and historians find great difficulty defining precisely when the Vikings settled on the islands due to the lack of documentary evidence (Oliver, 2014). However, it is thought the Vikings had already settled on the Orkney and Shetland Islands by either AD 790 or 800 (Davis, 2014). It is from this long history and association with Nordic lands that influence the culture and traditions of the islands (Davis, 2007: Oliver, 2014) and could be attributed to the reason why no Highland games feature on the islands' events calendars.

5.1.1 Scope and scale of events

Respondents indicated that the current events had been formed after 1807 with 17 established before 1900, and the other 33 prior to 1996, two of the events cannot be certain of year of inauguration (Table 5.2). Lothian (2001) documented the emergence of a number of events from around the mid-1980s started specifically for commercial gain and targeted towards tourists, although most of these events proved not to be viable and are no longer operating. It is interesting to note that after the visit of King George IV to Scotland in 1822 (Prebble, 1988) there does not appear to be a significant increase in the number of events.

Table 5.2 details the individual events determining that the largest single group of events were formed in the years between 1961 and 1980 when a total of 13 were established; notably there were no events established in the period between 1901 and 1920. Although by 1954 Allan (1974) suggests the number of events was reducing each year. It is worth noting that the findings in this

research are restricted to 50 events and may not be an accurate account of what was taking place in the intervening years.

From this research there is a clear indication that Highland games have become increasingly popular in recent years, with 21 events established since 1961. The *'unknown'* responses suggest that the establishment of events has not been fully documented.

Table 5. 2 The time period when events were established (re-established)

1800-1820	1821-1840	1841–1860	1861-1880	1881-1900	1901-1920	1921-1940	1941-1960	1961-1980	1981-2000	Unknown
Braemar	Inverness	Taynuilt	Tomintoul	Abernethy		Arisaig	Mallaig and Morar	Stonehaven	Locharron	Durness
Lochearnhead		Thornton	Atholl and Breadalbane	Cowal		Oldmeldrum	Glenurquart	Cupar	Stirling	Cortachy
		Inverary	Isle of Skye	Strathpeffer			Lesmahagow	Kenmore	Dundonald	
		Pitlochry	Lewis	Brodick			Newtonmore	Bearsden and Milngavie	St Andrews	
		Bridge of Allan	Ballater	Dornoch			Shotts	Mey	North Berwick	
							Aberdeen	Rosneath and Clynder	Callander	
							Glenfinnan	Peebles	Blair Atholl	
								Helmsdale		
								Inverkeithing		
								Lewis		
								Lochaber		
								Loch Lomond		
								Callander		
								Blair Atholl		
2	1	5	5	5	0	2	7	14	7	2

(Source: author)

It may be difficult for some organisations to distinguish the exact moment in history when individual events were established due to the lack of record keeping or existing documentation, although Colquhoun and Machell (1927) and Webster (2011) suggest contemporary events have been in existence for about 200 years. Grant (1961) and Jarvie (1991) comment that there was a resurgence of events in the 1820s although this is not reflected in Table 5.2 The full complement of emerging events cannot be included in Table 5.2 as some consideration requires to be given to the games that may have started during this period that no longer exist. It could be that events established in the early 1800s are no longer in existence as the number of events appear to fluctuate over time; one example is a Highland games initiated in 1815 by a friend of Sir Walter Scott, Alastair Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry, although the event had ceased to exist by 1828 (Gold and Gold, 1995).

Establishing the historical roots of Highland games is an important indicator to identify patterns and areas of growth since 1800. To facilitate a deeper understanding of the organisers it was necessary to establish the structure and formalisation within the organising bodies.

5.1.2 The organisation and structure of Highland games in Scotland

Highland games are predominantly community events staged by the local community for the local community and like many local events are operated by volunteers on a not-for-profit basis (see Section 7.1 for discussion). The term committee in this setting signifies a typical committee format convened for a specific purpose. Table 5.3 illustrates that, except for two events organised by city councils, the remaining 48 events (96%) are organised by committees composed of a standard democratic format. The formation of the committees range from one event organised by a Round Table, two by Games Associations, thirteen events are registered as Limited Companies with most events (32) following a standard committee formation.

Table 5. 3 Format of organising bodies by event

Limited Company	Committee	Games Association	Round Table	City Council
Abernethy	Stonehaven	Dundonald	Callander	Aberdeen
Cowal Tomintoul	Cupar	Isle of Skye		Inverness
Braemar	Locharron			
Oldmeldrum	Kenmore			
Inverkeithing	Mallaig and Morar			
Inverary	Arisaig			
Lewis	Bearsden and Milngavie			
Lochaber	Glenurquart			
Pitlochry	Lesmahagow			
Ballater	Mey			
Loch Lomond	Strathpeffer			
Bridge of Allan	Taynuilt			
	Thornton			
	Rosneath and Clynder			
	Peebles			
	Lochearnhead			
	Helmsdale and District			
	Atholl and Breadalbane			
	Durness			
	Newtonmore			
	Stirling			
	Luss			
	Brodick			
	St Andrews			
	North Berwick			
	Carrick			
	Shotts			
	Cortachy			
	Blair Atholl			
	Dornoch			
	Glenfinnan			
	Bathgate and West Lothian			
13 events (26%)	**32 events (64%)**	**2 events (4%)**	**1 event (2%)**	**2 events (4%)**

The number of individuals in organising committees varied between four and 50 people with 36% falling in the largest group of 10–14 members. With the exception of council run events, two instances where the treasurer and secretary receive small honorariums and one event which has one permanent member of staff supported by two part-time employees, all organisers were volunteers.

At an operational level, there was a considerable gap between the number of volunteers organising events and the volunteers required during the event. The number of event volunteers varied between 20 and 150 assisting on the day of the event. It is well documented that volunteers are vital to successfully operated events (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.) particularly community events (Stebbins, 2004). The events are held annually relying on gate receipts and other forms of income collected to ensure survival in successive years.

5.2 Gate admissions and visitation

Data was collected on admission figures to ascertain the scale of Highland games across Scotland, which was a strategic factor when deciding which events to include in the second survey (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4). There is a lack of definitive admission figures with some events advising no records were kept, although when records were unavailable some respondents were able to provide estimates in a similar fashion for research conducted by DTZ Research (2007) and Nicholson and Pearce (2001). Other events chose not to disclose financial information indicating it was confidential, although the responses pertaining to admission figures provided data to enable the development of distinct data ranges, as illustrated in Table 5.4. Thirteen events accounted for the highest proportion of admittance figures which fell between the 3,000-5,999 range followed by the 1,500–2,999 band which accounted for ten events with eight events signifying audiences of less than 1,500. Thirteen events did not respond to this question indicating an unwillingness to do so or that there were no mechanisms in place to capture admission figures. Two events indicated audiences of greater than 12,000 where 15,600 attended at the highest level which is somewhat short of the 25,000 visitors suggested by DTZ Research (2007).

Table 5. 4 Total number of admissions 2006

Number of Admissions 2006	Number of Events
<1,500	9
1,500 - 2,999	9
3,000 - 5,999	13
6,000 - 8,999	2
9,000 - 11,999	2
12,000 and more	2
Unrecorded	13
Total	50

(Source: author)

The importance of these figures begin to define the variance in scale of events ranging from less than 1500 to more than 12,000, which is a vast difference in terms of finances and budgets required to stage events. The larger events are likely to require substantially more funding than smaller events due to the need to accommodate larger audiences. Charging admission fees can be crucial to the survival of not-for-profit events if gate receipts are essential for longevity as opposed to generating large profits. The individual events were cross tabulated with admission numbers to determine the scale of the events. The individual events and spectator numbers are illustrated in Table 5.5 although as previously suggested not all events keep accurate records of admissions which is reflected by the 12 events that are unable to verify audience numbers. The most common grouping of audience size was represented by the 3,000-5,999 categories which accounted for 13 events. The link between generating revenue through charging entrance fees is associated with the third objective relating to challenges faced by the organisers.

Table 5. 5 Cross tabulation by number of admissions and event

<1,500	1,500-2,999	3,000-5,999	6,000-8,999	9,000-11,999	≥12,000	Unrecorded
Kenmore	Stonehaven	Abernethy	Loch Lomond	North Berwick	Braemar	Cupar
Mallaig and Morar	Mey	Tomintoul	Callander	Blair Atholl	Cowal	Locharron
Arisaig	Strathpeffer	Atholl and Breadalbane			Inverness	Bearsden and Milngavie
Glenurquart	Taynuilt	Newtonmore				Rosneath and Clynder
Lesmahagow	Thornton	Stirling				Peebles
Oldmeldrum	Inverkeithing	Dondonald				Lochearnhead
Helmsdale	Inverary	Luss				Skye
Durness	Dornoch	Lochaber				Bridge of Allan
Cortachy	Glenfinnan	Brodick				Carrick
		St Andrews				Shotts
		Pitlochry				Bathgate and West Lothian
		Ballater				
		Aberdeen				
9	9	13	2	2	3	12

(Source: author)

To explore for the presence of tourists and visitors the organisers were asked to indicate from a number of choices the origin of the spectators. The events are cross tabulated by region and origin of audience (Table 5.6). When presented with the choices of local, regional, the rest of Scotland, UK and international visitors represented at the events, nearly all events (96%) indicated that visitors came from all areas. One Argyll event indicated only people residing in the local region were present and one Highland event surmised there were no UK or regional members in the audience restricting participation to locals and international visitors. The remaining 48 events believed the audience was comprised of all regions from local to international (see Table 6.3 for spectator response). Although some of the events do not record the number of gate admissions it is significant that international visitors are thought, or known, to be present at all events. To be aware of the presence of international visitors implies some form of overnight stay or tourism activity is taking place involving a visit to Highland games which leads to the second objective when exploring for evidence of event tourism.

Table 5. 6 Cross tabulation of region of events with where do the spectators come from

Region		The origin of spectators			
		Visitors from all areas*	No Regional or UK visitors	Regional visitors	Total
Argyll	Count	8	0	1	9
	% within Region of event	88.9%	0.0%	11.1%	100.0%
Highland	Count	14	1	0	15
	% within Region of event	93.3%	6.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Grampian	Count	7	0	0	7
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Perthshire	Count	4	0	0	4
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Fife	Count	4	0	0	4
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Central	Count	8	0	0	8
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Ayrshire	Count	2	0	0	2
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Borders	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	48	1	1	50
	% within Region of event	96.0%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

(Source: author) *Options for the 'areas' are local, regional, the rest of Scotland (nationwide), UK and international

Furthermore, when proposing whether individuals at the event were in the area for the duration of the event only, or spending more than one day in the area 42% proposed that most visitors were only in the vicinity for the duration of the event (Table 5.7). The result for visitors spending more than one day in the area was 48% with only 10% indicating that the audience would be a mixture of day visitors and tourists (see Table 6.5 for spectator response). It is notable that the highest proportion of visitors spending more than one day in the area were Perthshire (100%) and the Highlands (73.3%). Both the Highlands and Perthshire are known for their picturesque landscapes which may appeal to tourists (Boniface and Cooper, 1994; Burton, 1995; Crouch, 2000; Krippendorf, 1986; Gelder and Robinson, 2010) and is appreciated by the organisers.

Conversely it was the Borders region (100%) that suggested members of the audience were in the vicinity only for the duration of the games and Fife (75%) that generated the highest returns to be in the area only for the duration of the games.

Table 5. 7 Cross tabulation with region of event and how long the majority of visitors were staying in the area

Region of event		How long the majority of visitors stay in the area			
		Duration of games only	Spend more than one day in the area	Day visitors and tourists	Total
Argyll	Count	5	3	1	9
	% within Region of event	55.6%	33.3%	11.1%	100.0%
Highland	Count	2	11	2	15
	% within Region of event	13.3%	73.3%	13.3%	100.0%
Grampian	Count	4	2	1	7
	% within Region of event	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Perthshire	Count	0	4	0	4
	% within Region of event	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Fife	Count	3	0	1	4
	% within Region of event	75.0%	0.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Central	Count	5	3	0	8
	% within Region of event	62.5%	37.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Ayrshire	Count	1	1	0	2
	% within Region of event	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Borders	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	21	24	5	50
	% within Region of event	42.0%	48.0%	10.0%	100.0%

(Source: author)

5.3 Financial matters

All financial related issues correspond with the third objective to explore the internal and external challenges for the organisers. Admission fees varied between free entrance and £10 with varying prices for concessions, children and family tickets (where available). Adult admission fees ranged between £3

and £10 with 58% of events charging £5 for adults. Child prices ranged from free entrance to £4 with the majority (44%) charging £2. Concession prices started with free admittance for senior citizens to £8 for students although the majority of seniors paid £2 and the majority of students paid either £2 or £3. Not all events made provision for a family ticket and some stated that the entrance fee was negotiable with a range of responses from free entrance to a maximum of £20 for family tickets.

The amount of money generated from admission fees ranged between £358 and £80,000 although it was difficult for some organisers to distinguish between admission fees and other monies such as competitor entrance fees and programme sales since the money was combined. Competition is an integral part of Highland games for entertainment purposes but also significant in generating much needed funds for the organising bodies. Collectively there are substantial variations in the amount of revenue collected from admission fees. Although there is a relatively even spread of events in each revenue band, varying between seven generating more than £15,000 and twelve falling between the £5,000-£9,999 band (Table 5.8).

Table 5. 8 Admissions Revenue

	Number of Events	Valid Percent
< £5,000	11	27.5%
£5, 000 - £9,999	12	30%
£10,000 - £14,999	10	25%
>£15,000	7	17.5%
Total	50	100%

(Source: author)

In many respects the entrance fees are not expensive and this may be a reflection of the community focus on entertainment over profit although the cost of staging the event is likely to influence the pricing strategy (Hall, 1992).

Table 5. 9 Average cost of entrance tickets

Year	Adults	Children	Students	Seniors	Family
2006	£4.63	£1.90	£2.92	£2.50	£10.28
Response	50	49	26	46	18

(Source: author)

The figures in Table 5.9 provide some insights into the relatively low admission fees charged by events reflecting the focus on local community enjoyment and participation, unlike commercial enterprises that are likely to charge more in order to achieve financial gains.

For some events, a financial outlay is required for payment of the event site (Table 5.10). Four of the event sites were owned by the games and five events were held in public parks, although there was no indication if payment was required for these sites. Fourteen events paid for the site and in twenty-seven cases the sites were donated free of charge. Ownership of the site can be an important factor. There are accounts of events that have stopped operating i.e. Callander (personal communication, 2015), or missing out one year such as Peebles when the landowners were working on the site or permanently withdrew access to the site (Peebles Highland Games, 2013).

Table 5. 10 Ownership of the site

	Number of events	Valid Percent
Own Site	4	8.0
Pay for Site	14	28.0
Site is Donated	27	54.0
Public Park	5	10.0
Total	50	100.0

(Source: author)

When the findings are cross tabulated with regions (Table 5.11), it is interesting that the highest percentage of donated event sites occur in the Highlands which may be a reflection of the historical connections when estate owners and lairds were the traditional patrons of Highland games (Jackson, 1998; Tranter, 1989).

Table 5. 11 Cross tabulation of region of event and ownership of the site

Region of event		Site of event				Total
		Owned	Paid	Donated	Public Park	
Argyll	Count	0	4	5	0	9
	% within Region of event	0.0%	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Highland	Count	1	2	11	1	15
	% within Region of event	6.7%	13.3%	73.3%	6.7%	100.0%
Grampian	Count	1	1	4	1	7
	% within Region of event	14.3%	14.3%	57.1%	14.3%	100.0%
Perthshire	Count	1	1	2	0	4
	% within Region of event	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Fife	Count	0	2	1	1	4
	% within Region of event	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Central	Count	1	4	2	1	8
	% within Region of event	12.5%	50.0%	25.0%	12.5%	100.0%
Ayrshire	Count	0	0	2	0	2
	% within Region of event	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Borders	Count	0	0	0	1	1
	% within Region of event	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	4	14	27	5	50
	% within Region of event	8.0%	28.0%	54.0%	10.0%	100.0%

(Source: author)

The importance of financial planning, budgeting and sponsorship is important when developing events (Getz, 2009). This aspect of event organisation and management remains pivotal to maintain viable community-led events. Operating on a not-for-profit basis events rely on funds collected one year to support the following year's event. Some events indicated extra fundraising activities during the year although the majority advised extra fundraising activities were not required.

Fund raising is not a new concept to Highland games as demonstrated in 1967 by Airth Highland games (Airth Highland Games, 1984) when, due to a lack of funds, a Trot[37] was organised to raise money so that the event could be held

[37] Trotting is a form of horse racing where trotting horses pull a two wheeled vehicle (sulky) and driver

the following year. When required, there are times when members of the local community will donate funds to ensure continuance of the events (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927).

Most fundraising for community events is likely to be held within the local community by holding social events which can lead to re-enforcing community roots and developing a sense of mutual obligation associated with social capital creation which is associated with the fifth objective (Bourdieu, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Giddens and Sutton, 2009; Halpern, 2005; Putman, 1993). If the event realised a profit after contributing to reserve funds, it was mostly local charities that were the recipients of surplus monies since profit is not the prime objective of Highland games.

The community co-operation and support appears to suggest that at an organisational level social capital is generated between organisers and local community beneficiaries in the form of bonding social capital. This is proposed by Harlambos and Holborn (2008) and Mohan and Mohan (2002) where strong social networks foster mutual obligations between people.

5.3.1 Budgets and sponsorship

The majority of respondents indicated that events were breaking even or making a small profit which is typical of community events (Bull et al., 2003; Shone and Parry, 2004). If a profit was generated, 46% of respondents noted that profit was re-invested or put in a reserve fund for contingencies when required. If events have to be cancelled or shut down early resulting in loss of revenue, this could bring into question the event's viability in future years. Two organisations indicated they were operating at a loss, and one committee organised money raising activities in order to remain viable, contrary to Shone and Parry's (2004) suggestion that one of the main failures of volunteer events is a lack of ability to generate extra revenue to sustain events.

It is not always easy for organisers of community events to attract sponsors, and for community events some kind of financial support can often be crucial to its success where support from sponsors and investors can be a deciding factor in the sustainability of the event (McCleary, 1995). Andersson and Getz (2009)

suggest that most community events rely on some form of sponsorship which was found in this research. As most regions (77.1%) indicated that sponsorship was critical to the success of the games (Table 5.12) whereas 18.8% of the events that have sponsorship suggest that it is not essential.

Table 5. 12 Cross tabulation with the region of the event and the need for sponsorship

		Is sponsorship critical to the success of the games			
Region		Yes	No	No sponsorship	Total
Argyll	Count	7	1	1	9
	% within Region of event	77.8%	11.1%	11.1%	100.0%
Highland	Count	10	4	0	14
	% within Region of event	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Grampian	Count	5	1	1	7
	% within Region of event	71.4%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Perthshire	Count	2	1	0	3
	% within Region of event	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Fife	Count	4	0	0	4
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Central	Count	6	2	0	8
	% within Region of event	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Ayrshire	Count	2	0	0	2
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Borders	Count	1	0	0	1
	% within Region of event	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	37	9	2	48
	% within Region of event	77.1%	18.8%	4.2%	100.0%

(Source: author)

A further 4.2% indicated there were no sponsorship arrangements in place commenting that sponsorship was not necessary. Although most of the sponsorship was monetary, 6% of the respondents received sponsorship through the provision of equipment such as seating and barriers, and the donation of prizes and perishable goods in the form of food (Masterton, 2004).

Unsurprisingly, not all organisers were prepared to divulge the level of financial sponsorship received. However, the amount of disclosed sponsorship varied between £300 and £50,000 with 20% receiving between £1,500 and £3,000. Perhaps the lesser amounts of sponsorship are a reflection of the difficulties the organisers of community events have when attracting sponsors (Shone and Parry, 2004). Some of the largest events had the least number of sponsors which may indicate that a few sponsors are using the event as part of a strategic marketing opportunity; businesses that tended to be well known international or national brands and products. This enabled exclusivity over the event, in effect barring all other sponsors and increasing the benefits to the sponsor (Bowdin et al., 2007). The reliance on sponsorship as a critical source of income is not uncommon with not-for-profit events where the benefits are for the community and not financial gain.

Sponsors varied in number between one and 60 with 36% of events attracting between one and nine sponsors, although this figure was fluid and likely to change from year to year. Three events receive no kind of sponsorship at all with two of the three commenting that sponsorship was not necessary.

Weed and Bull (2004) identify that most events rely on some involvement by the public sector even if it is only through being granted permission to hold the event. Although 32% events disclosed they received some monetary support from local councils or public agencies, 68% received no such funding (Table 5.13), drawing similar conclusions to Felsenstein and Fleischer (2003) that self-sustaining events may be denied public funding. Further, Mair and Whitford (2013) infer that indigenous sporting events may be denied funding by the public sector due to the lack of academic inquiry on the subject

Table 5. 13 Financial support from local council or other public agencies

	Number of Events	Percent
Yes	16	32.0
No	34	68.0
Total	50	100.0

(Source: author)

As expected with such a variable size of events, budgets varied widely from £1,000 to in excess of £100,000. Costs of organising an event have to be covered if the event is to remain sustainable and extra financial resources may be in the form of contributions from public agencies, the private sector, individuals and community groups (Hall, 1992). The majority (28%) operated with budgets between £10,000 and £15,000, 26% budgeted £5,000 or less and 6% operated on budgets over £100,000.

Many Highland games may be a victim of their own success and may be refused funding on the basis that sufficient funds are generated through sponsorship and gate fees. With limited access to external funding (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3 for further discussion) some events rely on sponsorship which can be vital to the continuance of the events. In some respects sponsorship in kind was of equal importance as financial sponsorship. As Masterman (2004) argues, sponsorship in kind is growing and is a means of exchanging mutual benefits where resources, time, equipment or products are donated in place of a monetary contribution.

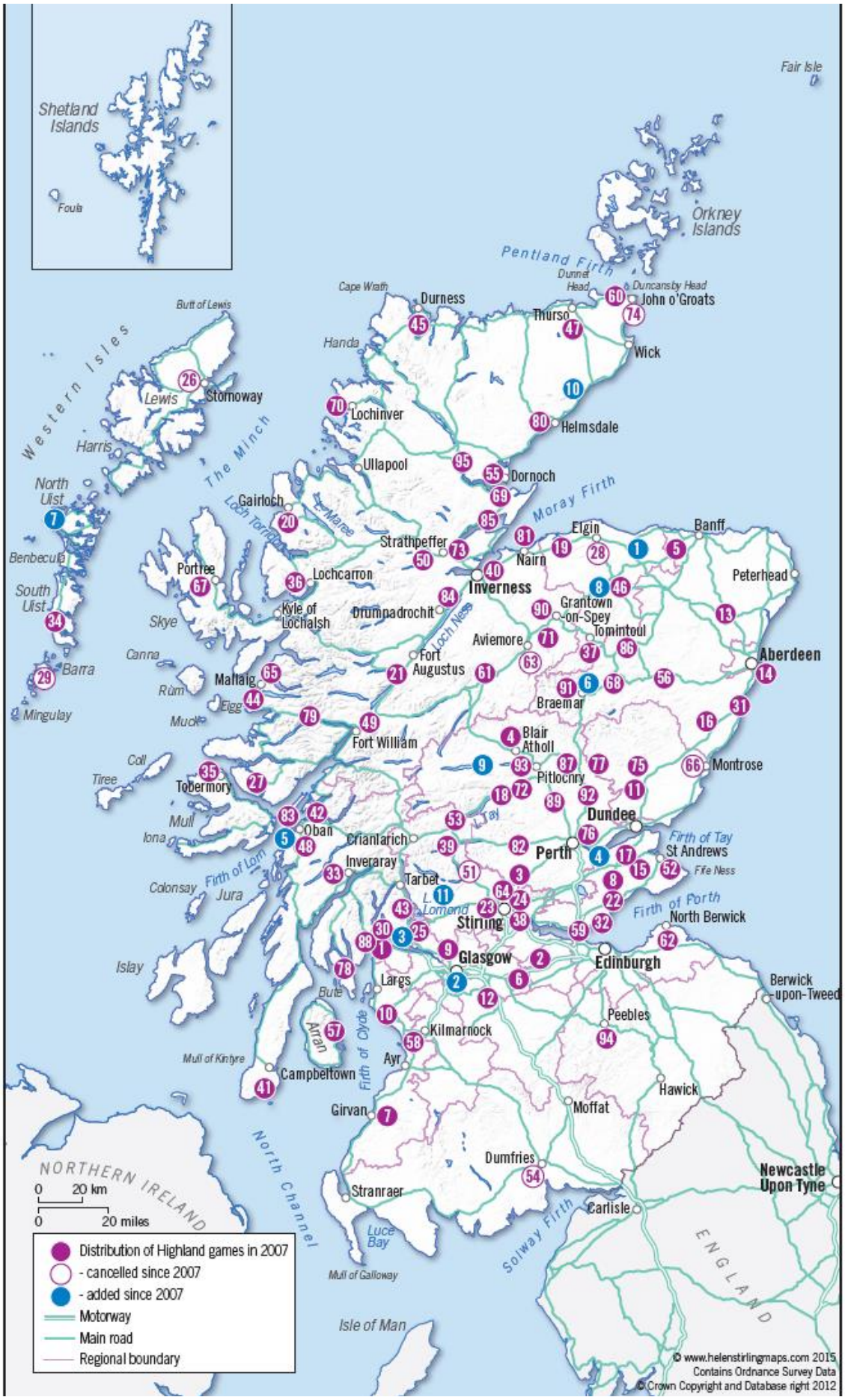
The surveys were completed almost entirely by volunteers and it became apparent that few organising committees completed the survey fully therefore, the information received can only be a starting point. The majority of respondents advised that they would be interested to be involved in further research, which was useful for further stages of data collection. At this stage one organising committee indicated that they were losing money year on year which was causing a depletion of their reserve fund and which currently receives little support from any public bodies or local authorities. This extreme case highlights the financial challenge of maintaining events at a community level when much of the current interest is running the annual event rather than long-term event development strategies. The findings in this financial matters section contribute to the third objective to explore internal and external challenges for the organisers.

The most recent search for Highland games found 103 events scheduled to take place in 2015. When the initial research was conducted the majority of information could be found at www.albagames.co.uk although this website has not been updated since 2013 and no longer provides up to date details of the

Highland games schedule. The search for events scheduled to take place in 2015 was sourced through a number of websites (Perthshire Highland Games Association, 2015; Scottish Highland Games Association, 2015; The Boat House, Boat of Garten, 2015; Scotland Welcomes You, 2015; VisitScotland, 2015) to construct an accurate schedule of events which are illustrated in Figure 5.1. The key differentiates the status and inclusion/exclusion of events in this study and a full list of events can be found in Appendix F. The updated list names events that are no longer operating, events that have been established or re-established since the initial search as well as events that have been omitted from this study.

There has been an overall increase in the number of events since the initial survey with 103 games known to be staged in Scotland in 2015 compared to the 95 found in 2007, although later research identified a few more that had been omitted. Events that were operating in 2007 and are still operating that were omitted from the first survey are Carmunnock Highland Games, Kinlochard Highland Games (previously operating under a different name), North Uist Highland Games and Rannoch Highland Gathering. Nevertheless, since the 2007 survey eight events have stopped operating which means 12 events have either experienced an inaugural event or been re-instated. In the intervening years some events have stopped and re-started which provides some evidence of the tenacity and commitment by the organisers striving to ensure keep the events active.

Figure 5. 1 Location of Highland games in 2015



5.4 Chapter Summary

What is evident from this survey is the variation in terms of size and scope which has hitherto not been evaluated by any organisation at this level. The findings of this chapter address the first objective which was to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland. The size and structure of events underlines the reliance on a volunteer workforce from the organising perspective and a team of volunteers to assist on the day of the event. The geographical distribution of events has been mapped and gate admissions revealed. These findings suggest there are self-sustaining events although there appears to be an acceptance that the organisers have to rely on their own ingenuity to ensure the events remain financially sustainable.

Financial information for budgets and sponsorship was not provided by all respondents however, there appears to be a general lack of support from public sector organisations (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3 for further discussion). The financial data was presented by region in order to conserve anonymity although the variances in income from sponsorships and money collected from admission and competitor fees is substantial, as are the finances required for event budgets. It is likely that the cost of staging events will rise each year and may force some organisers to increase admission fees in order to remain sustainable.

Most organisers indicate the presence of international tourists at the events and others may remain in the vicinity for longer than the duration of the event which responds to the second objective to explore Highland games for evidence of event tourism activity. The support from local communities and sense of mutual obligations between the organisers and community suggest evidence of the creation of social capital to answer the fifth objective.

The main implications of the findings of this data set present an overview of the variation between the events associated with size of event which has financial implications for the sustainability of the events. There is evidence that suggests sponsorship is crucial to the success of the events and there is some level of support from the public sector (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3 for further discussion). The indications are that some events are not entirely self-

sufficient, therefore increasing awareness of financial matters may have implications in relation to sustainability and external support.

The following chapter explores Highland games from the perspective of the spectators from the data collected at multiple events across Scotland.

6 The spectators' perspective: results and analysis

The previous chapter explored the events from an organisational perspective introducing the scale of events, the operational structure along with financial matters. This chapter presents the findings of the second phase of data collection which explores the events from the perspective of the audience.

The findings presented in this chapter respond to the second objective to ascertain if Highland games contribute to event tourism in Scotland. The socio-demographic and cultural characteristics relating to the fourth objective are established and evidence of social capital is investigated in connection with the fifth objective. The surveys collected at events provided predominantly categorical data in line with the exploratory nature of the research project, rather than following a statistical line of inquiry based on hypotheses which would normally require a number of sophisticated statistical techniques applied to the data.

The topics are separated into different themes beginning with an overview of main reasons for attending events, normal country of residence and VFR related content. The findings from holidaymakers and visitors establish a connection with the events and event tourism. Themes emerge during the analysis that contributes to the fifth objective to explore for evidence of social capital. Thereafter, the focus is directed to the geographical location of the events and if respondents are on a day trip or spending more than one day in the area which also contributes to the second objective related to event tourism.

The composition of social groups and social characteristics are the subsequent topics which address the fourth objective to explore the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of the spectators. The penultimate section investigates if respondents had knowledge of the events prior to attending and followed by consideration of travel patterns associated with frequency of attendance and travel time to reach events. The findings suggest evidence of social capital in response to the fifth objective. Finally, the appealing content of Highland games is explored which leads to further evidence of social capital relating to the fifth objective associated with international tourists and socialisation.

As the spectators are already present at the events it is probable that some form of social capital will be established associated with Halpern's (2005) notion of belonging to the Highland games network, through shared interests (Burt, 2000; Page and Connell, 2010; Roberts, 2004; Rojek, 2005) or social groups meeting up at events (Wilks, 2012). The findings in Chapter 5 suggest associations and mutual trust between organisations and local communities through charity support (Burt, 2000; Coleman, 1988; Halpern, 2005; O'Sullivan et al., 2008; Torche and Valenzuela, 2011).

The data collected through the first major survey of Highland games' spectators in Scotland allows a thorough exploration of the events from a spectator viewpoint. Suitable events were selected after a rigorous screening process (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4 for further details) resulting in 15 different locations (Figure 4.3) identified as satisfying the required criteria. A total of 1,316 usable completed surveys were returned. The two page questionnaire was designed to capture a broad set of detailed information relating to an assortment of constituent elements of Highland games. The surveys included a selection of open and closed questions associated with different aspects of the events (see Appendix D). A variety of question formats provided data on tangible attributes and intangible elements associated with the events.

The data was analysed using SPSS software as a means of exploring and testing interrelationships between variables and to establish a greater understanding of the content and audience. Univariate methods were employed to establish fundamental details and bivariate analysis of cross tabulation, Chi-square and Cramer's V tests revealed relationships and associations between the variables. There has been no known attempt to conduct surveys across multiple Highland games in Scotland therefore the intention was to build a knowledge base in order to present a better understanding of these events. In order to achieve this, data was not explored as part of a sophisticated analytical project but rather to set a foundation and knowledge base for future research.

Following a pragmatic approach, the data collected was to investigate the world of Highland games based mostly on categorical data which was useful for this approach. Following this analytical format supplied crucial insights into

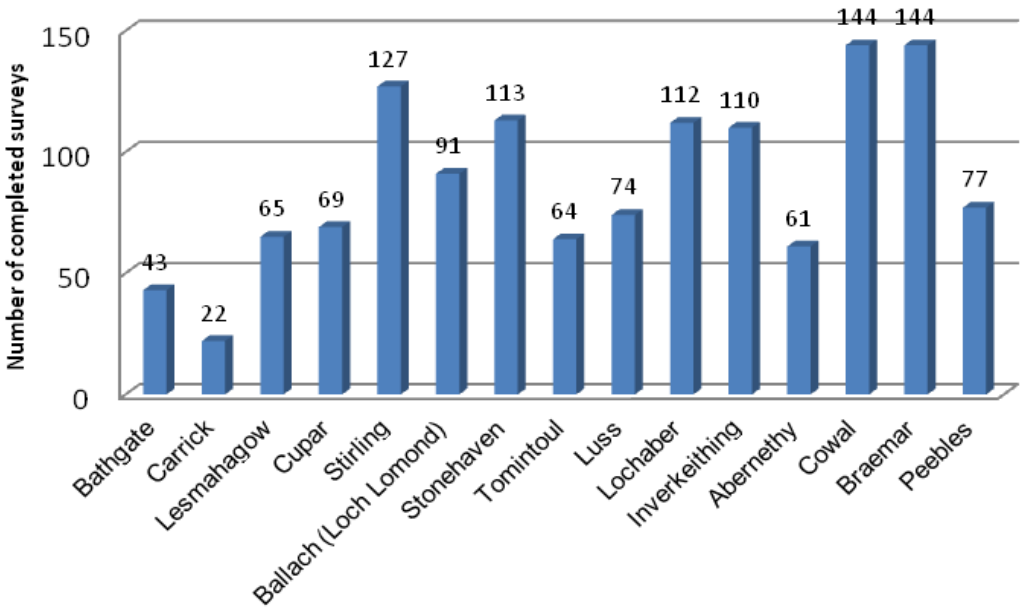
previously unknown and undiscovered reality of Highland games. Whilst categorical data may not lend itself well to sophisticated analysis, the level of knowledge gained is crucial based on the lack of previous research and for the most part little is known about the events either individually or collectively within Scotland. Developing a better understanding of the spectators and appeal of the events reveals vital information on social and economic implications for the local regions staging the events and across the whole country.

The first section begins to explore key reasons for attending the events and introduces emerging differences between local residents, day visitors and international tourists. The national origins of respondents provide some indication if respondents are visitors or tourists and captures some interesting information on the VFR segment of the audience. Exploring group composition and socio-demographics follows, with the final section exploring travel patterns and frequency of attendance at Highland games.

6.1 Highland games in early twenty-first century

The 15 locations where events were surveyed are illustrated in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.3). In order to capture a broad selection of event types, the events were selected on the specific criteria of geographical location, projected number of spectators and whether the event is located in an urban or rural setting,. It is not uncommon for researchers to collect data at multiple events although data gathering methods may vary according to the purpose of the research (Crompton and MacKay, 1997; Daniels, 2007; Nicholson and Pearce, 2001; Saayan and Saayman, 2011; Wilson, 2007). There was extensive variation in the number of surveys collected across events (see Figure 6.1) specifically notable are the small amount of completed surveys returned at Carrick Lowland Games (22) and Bathgate Highland Games (43). This was due to adverse weather conditions impacting on distribution of the survey which can be a common problem with outdoor events (Getz, 2008; Light, 2006; Wright, 2007). The largest amount of completed surveys was collected at the Cowal Highland Gathering (144) and the Braemar Gathering (144) which normally attracts the largest audiences (the equal number of surveys across these two events is purely coincidental).

Figure 6. 1 Number of surveys completed at each event (principal name of event)

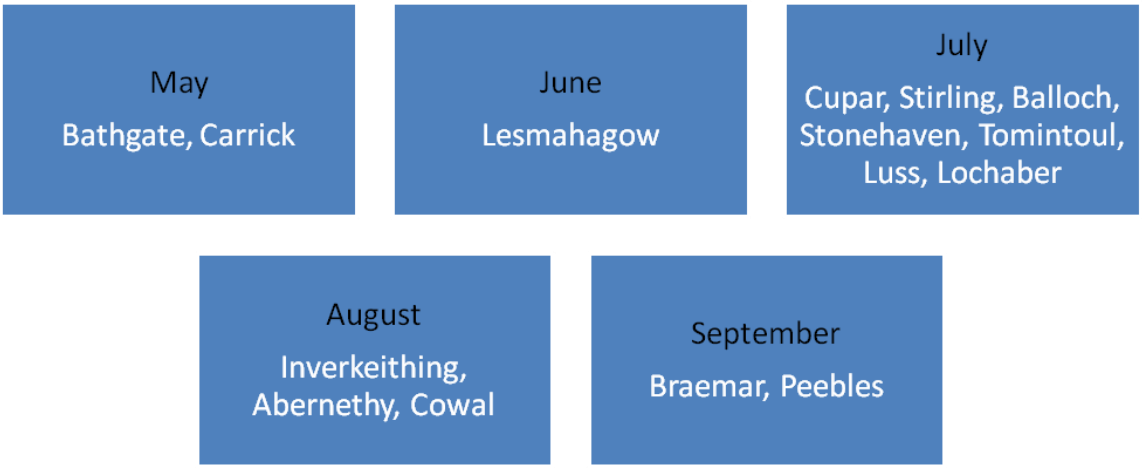


(Source: author)

The timing and scheduling of events is likely to impact on visitation by local residents, tourists and visitors although most Highland games take place at weekends between the middle of May until the final events in September. A substantial proportion of the events are scheduled in July and August at the height of the tourist season in Scotland when many schools are on a summer break. Traditionally, this is the main tourist season in Scotland for overseas visitors and most events are now scheduled on Saturdays and Sundays (Allan, 1974; Brander, 1992; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Davidson, 2009). Many events have moved away from the historical week day scheduling (Jackson, 1998) to provide improved opportunities for attendance although there are still events that maintain weekday scheduling (Kenmore, Inverary, Arisaig, Durness, Isle of Skye and Ballater).

The scheduling of the surveyed events is illustrated in Figure 6.2 and clearly indicates the profusion of events held in July and August which are the two busiest months on the Highland games calendar. All the events included in this research are one-day events with the exception of Cowal which is a three-day event.

Figure 6. 2 Scheduling of the events by month



(Source: author)

Apart from inclement weather conditions at some events, there were no significance differences relating to the enthusiasm of respondents. With very few refusals across all events the number of completed surveys was dependent on crowd size and ease of movement around the sites. At times mobility was restricted when congestion limited access to potential respondents or there was difficulty gaining admission to seated areas (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4).

Based on the perception of the role of Highland games, a set of options were given in order to delineate a consensus on the categorisation of Highland games (Chapter 2, Section 3.2). Establishing an agreed definition of Highland games is useful when placing the events within a wider context. From the options offered in the survey, the majority of respondents (61.8%) chose Highland games as a traditional or cultural event. Perhaps this is a reflection of the visual pomp and pageantry that surrounds these events as a portrayal of Highland and Scottish culture. The close ties many events have with local communities through the volunteer organisers is important in providing a valuable entertainment opportunity for local residents similar to Daniel's (2007) study of sport tourism, although only 13.3% chose to describe Highland games as a community event. In recent years some towns have resurrected Highland games or hybrid events which may be a combination of Highland games and gala day such as Lesmahagow or Highland games with a heavy horse show at Montrose and the combination of a Highland gathering and agricultural show at

Strathardle and Atholl and Breadablane Highland Games (www.visitscotland.com/). A gathering of individuals for a common interest such as Highland games can be directly associated with social capital as found by Beacom (1998) and Jarvie (2003).

There was less diversity between the remaining event categories, decreasing in order with social gathering (9.3%) followed by sporting event (6.4%) and tourist attraction (6.3%) and the final two options of other (2.8%) and clan gathering a miniscule 0.1%. There can be no denying the preference for a traditional and cultural event. However, some respondents recognise the sporting theme of Highland games which is a central activity of the games and suggests the cultural aspect over shadows the sporting theme. Perhaps it is the visible cultural imagery that is dictating the theme applied, rather than recognition of the competitive characteristics as proposed by Raj and Vignali (2010) and Smith et al., (2010). However, previous studies have associated Highland games mostly within a sporting theme by Jackson (1998), Jarvie (1991, 1999, 2006, 2003b) and Tranter (1987, 1989, 1998) or classified along a time line (Jarvie, 1991; Lothian, 2001). Although many events are not mutually exclusive and the lines can be blurred when attempting to fit events within an academic taxonomy (Gelder and Robinson, 2010; Getz, 2012) as demonstrated by Brewster et al., (2009) who simultaneously refer to Highland games as a sport and cultural event, which presents problems when following an academic taxonomy of events.

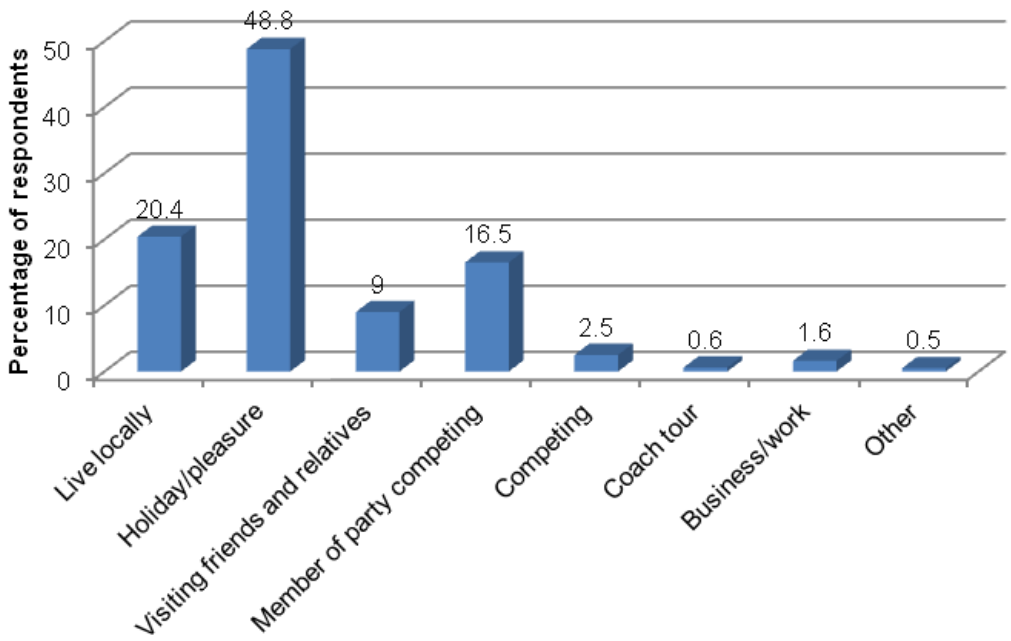
6.1.1 Purpose of attendance at events

It is important to understand the composition of respondents as local residents, national residents or tourists, to build knowledge of group structure of audience members and to identify and variations between the groups. This section begins to define the rationale for patronage and support of Highland games.

The majority of respondents visiting the events whilst on holiday or in the pursuit of pleasure is a substantial 48.8% as illustrated in Figure 6.3 drawing awareness to the potential these events have to attract tourists and contribute to event tourism associated with the second objective. A substantially lower 20.4% were local residents providing support from the local community. The

spectators were the focus of the survey however, the findings indicate a number of competitors and individuals accompanying competitors were also captured. As a result, a significant 16.5% of the spectators were accompanying competitors, an important finding since the competitors may be travelling to more than one event. The final noteworthy segment was individuals visiting friends and relatives (VFR) representing 9% of the audience, which is a valuable statistic as VFR activity is particularly difficult to capture in surveys due to the nature of their travel patterns and use of local accommodation (Holloway, 2009; Page and Connell, 2009). VFR activity is associated with socialising, relationships and interaction between groups and families and suggests the creation of social capital presented by Bourdieu (1985), Rojek (2005) and Sharpley and Stone (2012) and contributes to the fifth objective.

Figure 6. 3 Main reason for attending event



(Source: author)

The remaining groups collectively account for 5.2% and are attributed to competitors (2.5%), people in the area for work purposes (1.6%), coach tour participants (0.6%) and other representing 0.5%. In this instance the other category included looking for a house in the area, judging, collecting money for charity, friends wanted to come and education fieldwork.

Combining competitors and those who indicated a member of the party was competing constitutes 19% of respondents which is slightly less than people who live locally. Thus, the inference from this data is that the competitive aspect of the events is likely to encourage a greater number of people to be present as part of a support group for competitors that may otherwise be absent (Deery et al., 2005).

There is an element of notoriety amongst the heavy athletes who are, for many, the highlight of the events (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1), with many well-known as élite athletes due to their athletic prowess, expertise and showcasing. This was recently demonstrated at the Commonwealth Games when the bronze medal winner for hammer throwing, (Mark Dry) expressed intention to compete at Highland games (BBC, Commonwealth Games, 2014). The presence of élite athletes can be a motivating factor to travel to events although in the case of Highland games, many of the specialised élite competitors are more likely to attend events offering higher levels of prize money (Allan, 1974; Burnett, 2000; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Higham and Hinch, 2009; McCombie-Smith, 1892). It is reasonable to suggest that most competitors at Highland games may not be well known outside their particular area of expertise so are unlikely to have undue influence on spectator numbers even at the large events contest Hinch and Higham (2005) and McKercher et al., (2006).

The contribution of competitors and support groups is likely to span across more than one event, especially for competitors residing outside Scotland. As witnessed by the researcher at Cupar in 2007, a group of twelve track and field athletes had travelled from Australia to compete at multiple events across the country over a six week period and were interchanging athletes throughout their stay. At Lochaber a group comprising over 80 individuals were residing in Scotland for two weeks for the sole purpose of competing as Pipe Bands and Highland dancers at a number of events. These travellers accompanying competitors are often classed as sports tourists (Jackson and Weed, 2004; Nogawa et al., 1996) which is appropriate in this instance although there is no mechanism in place to ascertain if those accompanying competitors would have attended without a competing group member. Travelling competitors are immensely important to the sustainability of Highland games providing a

continuous source of support, even more so when competing at multiple events and participating in event tourism relating to the second objective.

The emergent findings present reasons for attendance and illustrate a reasonable amount of support from local communities but perhaps more surprisingly the percentage of respondents visiting the events whilst on holiday. Therefore a further exploration of intention to travel and type of event is now explored.

6.1.2 Event themes and reason for travelling

Comparing how respondents theme the event through categorisation provides some insight into how the games are perceived and an indication of the differences between how local, visitors and tourists distinguish the events. Cross tabulation between main reason for attending the event and classification or theme is illustrated in Table 6.1 to determine any differences between the main reason to attend the event and classification.

Irrespective of the reasons individuals are drawn to the events, the events continue to be mostly associated with a traditional and cultural theme with holidaymakers rating the highest (70.9%), followed by competitors (60.6%) and those visiting friends and relatives (VFR) comprising 58%. The majority of local residents were less convinced of traditional and cultural associations with 47.2%, which represented the least recognition of tradition and culture. However, this group represented the highest percentage classifying the event as a community event (21.9%) followed by the VFR category resulting in a substantial combined total of 38.7% in recognition of community connections.

The cultural theme may be associated with tourists searching for authentic or *'real'* cultural experiences that can be experienced at Highland games. Through the traditional athletics, Highland dancing and pipe bands which are recognised as symbolically and culturally connected with Scotland (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3 for further discussion).

Table 6. 1 Cross tabulation of event classification and main reason to attend the event

	Percentage within Attendance								
Description	Live locally	Holiday/ pleasure	Visiting friends and relatives	Member of party competing	Coach tour	Business/ work	Competing	Other*	Total
Traditional/cultural event	47.2	70.9	58.0	54.8	62.5	57.1	60.6	85.7	61.8
Tourist attraction	5.9	5.9	5.9	6.0	12.5	9.5	18.2	0.0	6.3
Community event	21.9	11.5	16.8	7.4	0.0	14.3	6.1	14.3	13.3
Sporting event	3.7	5.3	2.5	14.3	0.0	9.5	12.1	0.0	6.4
Social gathering	14.5	5.1	12.6	14.3	25.0	9.5	3.0	0.0	9.3
Clan gathering	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Other	6.3	1.2	4.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: author) (Where disclosed the "other" (*) category in the column includes: looking for a house in the area, judging, raising money for charity, friends visiting wanted to come, education fieldwork)

The affinity local people and perhaps returning VFRs have with the local community is represented by these results and is the most substantial variation between local residents and other respondents, suggesting some form of social cohesiveness and social capital creation between friends and familial ties. The finding suggests that people who have travelled from home or have links to the area through friends and relatives place a higher importance on the community aspect of these events. Community connections are similar to studies conducted by Bourdieu (1985) Carnegie and Smith (2009), Rojek (2010) and Timothy (2011) who found familial or friend connections with a destination heighten the concept of community and social ties, and when former citizens of the community reconnect through recognition and reacquaintance (Ziakas and Costa, 2010). This determines evidence of social capital associated with community connections and begins to address the fifth objective of exploring for evidence of social capital. The visiting friends and relatives category also suggests that this might include people returning to familial roots (Chhabra et al., 2003) creating feelings of nostalgia (Gibson et al., 1998) through having heightened emotional attachment to the place (Mair and Whitford, 2014) area and perhaps the event.

The holidaymakers and pleasure seekers attributed only 11.5% to Highland games as a community based event suggesting the perceptions of Highland games vary considerably between local residents and other visitors.

Also noteworthy is the social gathering category where again respondents living locally (14.5%) and those visiting friends and relatives (12.6%) rated much higher than the 5.1% of holiday makers who chose social gathering as a suitable description of Highland games. Returning family and friends to a familiar environment and local support by the community suggests the event facilitates the expansion of social capital within the community through connectivity with social interaction as a main feature, similar to the findings of Burt (2000), Jarvie (2003), Roberts (2004) and Fairley and Gammon (2005).

The difference between audience perceptions of the type of event and main reason for attending indicates disparity between tourists and visitors from the largely Scottish respondents, assuming that those living locally and visiting friends and relatives are Scottish residents or previous residents of Scotland.

However subtle differences are between the segmented groups and characteristics of spectators, the attachment to event and place conveys bonding social capital is evident through interaction and sharing common interests found in tight knit sporting communities, similarly found in the studies of Harris (1998) and Tonts (2005).

6.1.3 Normal country of residence and distribution of day trippers and tourists

To continue the theme of exploring diversity between the perceptions of different nationalities the next stage was to explore variances between Scottish, UK and overseas respondents. Identification of the spectators' origins might indicate the ability of Highland games to attract heterogeneous groups and individuals. There were 45 different nationalities present at events (see Appendix G for a list of the countries represented) which would have been cumbersome to analyse individually when searching for similarities or differences, therefore the respondents were segregated into Scottish residents, UK (excluding Scotland) and overseas residents. This allows analysis of three distinct groups and contributes to the second objective to explore for evidence of event tourism and the fourth objective to investigate the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. The findings link social capital with socialisation and interaction between groups (Rojek, 2005; Sharpley and Stone, 2012) and social networks.

When exploring the traditional and cultural associations, it emerges that respondents living outside Scotland placed more prominence on traditional and cultural themes although, interestingly, UK residents revealed the highest percentage with 72.5% choosing this category followed by international tourists (69.7%). As illustrated in Table 6.2, Scottish residents generated the lowest recognition of the cultural themes with 55.3% recognising the cultural connection, although this accounts for over half of the Scots respondents agreeing that over and above a community event, the traditional and cultural features are more prominent. It could be argued that the visual culture and tradition on display by Highland dancers and bagpipe players, is a key attraction for such a large contingent residing outside Scotland. There is less differentiation associated with community event between the three groups with Scotland holding the slightly higher percentage of 13.9% followed by UK (13.8%) and International (11.5%), which does suggest moderate acknowledgement of the relationship between the events and the local community.

Table 6. 2 Cross tabulation of event classification and Scotland, UK or international visitor

	Percentage within Scotland UK and International			
Description	Scotland	UK	International	Total
Traditional/cultural event	55.3	72.5	69.7	61.8
Tourist attraction	6.4	3.2	8.2	6.3
Community event	13.9	13.8	11.5	13.3
Sporting event	7.0	5.0	5.8	6.4
Social gathering	13.4	3.2	3.9	9.3
Clan gathering	0.1	0	0	0.1
Other	3.8	2.3	0.9	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: author)

An event environment is conducive to social interaction and it was evident that substantially more importance was accredited to the event as a social gathering by the Scottish residents (13.4%) than international (3.9%) and UK (3.2%) which supports the findings that local residents place social interaction more highly than other visitors (see Table 6.2). This could be ascribed to the opportunity for families and friends to reunite through socialisation within the events as found by Jarvie (2003) and Tranter (1989) when researching Highland games. There are numerous accounts of the camaraderie and convivial atmosphere between competitors and spectators (Gibson, 1882; McCall Smith, 2013; Ross, 2014) which appears to be consistent with early accounts of Highland games.

It has been established that tourists are attending Highland games. The following section presents the origins of the respondents by country of normal residence.

6.1.4 Country of origin: Scotland, UK and international residents

The previous section indicates a substantial number of respondents at Highland games who normally reside outside Scotland with the full list of 45 normal countries of residence found in Appendix G and illustrated in Figure 6.4. McKercher et al., (2006) suggest that community based events hold little

attraction for overseas visitors unlike Getz (2011), Gursoy et al., (2003) and Hall (1992) who consider the transitory nature of events may have heightened appeal for overseas visitors as a tourist attraction. Yet, 25.1% of respondents were resident overseas (Table 6.3). Moreover when considered collectively the extent of international tourists at Highland games provides some indication of their popularity. Further, if the events have cultural connections, cultural tourists may be more inclined to seek out events to satisfy a need for cultural celebration and authentic experiences that provide opportunities to interact with the locals.

Unsurprisingly, when combined the highest percentage of respondents originate from Europe although the presence from some of the larger continents where Scottish immigrants have historically settled is also evident (Calloway, 2008; Cohen, 1997; Grant, 1961; Jarvie, 2000; Lynch, 1996; Prebble, 1963). Countries outside Scotland generating most responses were England (15.4%), USA (4.5%), Germany (4%), Canada (2.5%) with the Netherlands and Australia both contributing (2.1%). It is interesting that this is a close reflection of the findings from a VisitScotland visitor survey (2011) which registers the countries of inbound tourists within the top eight include the USA (1), Germany (2), Australia (7) and Canada (8), as generating most trips to Scotland (VisitScotland, 2011). There may be some relationship between inbound tourists and Highland games however, without access to data defining Highland games as the primary motivation for visiting Scotland, that conjecture cannot be substantiated.

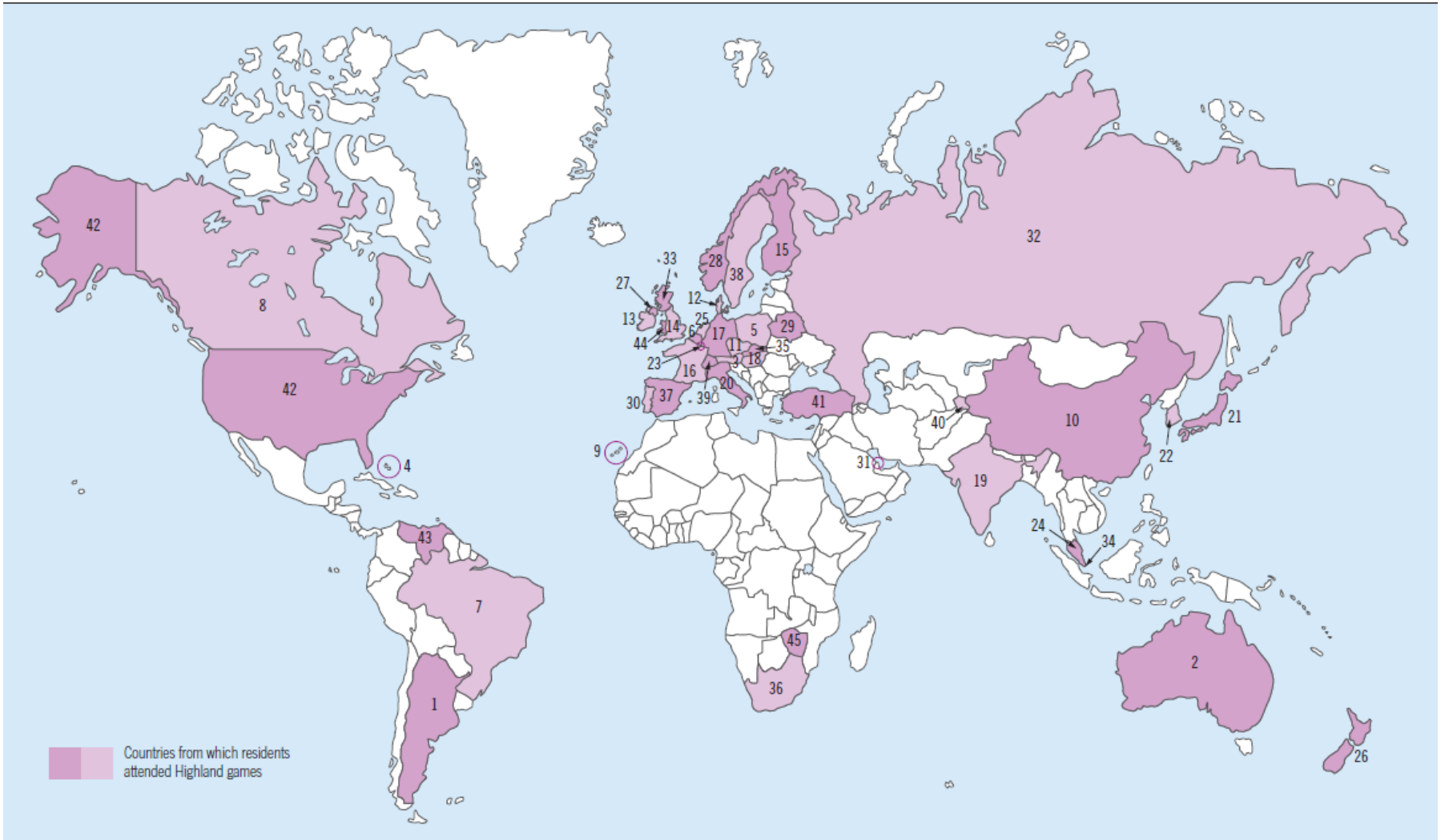
Interest group research conducted by VisitScotland (2010) identified the key areas of interest for organised types of groups travelling to Scotland. It was found that 60% of groups had links with Clans and as a combined group, dance and music groups, pipe and regimental festivals, tattoos and games accounted for 38% of interest travel. It is noteworthy that some of the key interests for visiting tourists are linked with elements of Highland games and may feature in travel plans. The other similarity is that the groups were mainly based in Scotland (29%) followed by USA (28%), England (13%), Canada (10%) and Australia (7%) which, to some extent, is reflected in the main countries of origin

for the people attending Highland games (VisitScotland, 2010) and evidence of event tourism as groups are visiting events during their stay in Scotland.

The findings suggest a substantial number of international tourists spending time at Highland games providing evidence of event tourism occurring, which addresses the second objective. If the Highland games were to be part of a promotional strategy for Scotland, the information found in this research could be instrumental in shaping promotional literature based on the similarities of international visitors' interests and group travel recorded by VisitScotland. Figure 6.4 illustrates the countries that were represented at Highland games.

For the purpose of this research the departure point of individuals has been condensed into three distinct sectors. Thus, the following section explores further variances between Scottish respondents and those of the rest of the UK and international tourists to ascertain the extent of global appeal.

Figure 6. 4 Nations represented at Highland games across Scotland (see Appendix G for list of countries)



(Source: Stirling, 2015)

If individual events are compared with nationality, there is an uneven spread of international tourists across events. Presented in Table 6.3 international visitors are distinctly absent at some events, in particular Carrick Lowland Games (4.5%) which is a free event in the south west of Scotland, and Lesmahagow Highland Games (9.2%) which is located in the Central Belt and a hybrid that combines a gala day with the Highland games. The other events which have particularly low numbers of international visitors, in ascending order, are Cowal (12.5%) which is a surprising result as this is one of the largest events in Scotland, Peebles (16.9%) and Bathgate (18.6%). There does not appear to be consistent similarities between the events to explain the variation in international travellers since there are considerable variances in size between the events although they are all outside the Highland region of Scotland.

Table 6. 3 Cross tabulation of individual events and Scotland, UK or international visitor

Name of Highland games	Percentage within Scotland, UK and International			Total
	Scotland	UK	International	
Bathgate	76.7	4.7	18.6	100.0
Carrick	86.4	9.1	4.5	100.0
Lesmahagow	87.7	3.1	9.2	100.0
Cupar	62.3	5.8	31.9	100.0
Stirling	53.5	12.6	33.9	100.0
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	47.3	24.2	28.6	100.0
Stonehaven	58.4	8.8	32.7	100.0
Tomintoul	60.9	15.6	23.4	100.0
Luss	43.2	24.3	32.4	100.0
Lochaber	28.6	33.0	38.4	100.0
Inverkeithing	73.6	9.1	17.3	100.0
Abernethy	36.1	37.7	26.2	100.0
Cowal	76.4	11.1	12.5	100.0
Braemar	47.2	25.7	27.1	100.0
Peebles	71.4	11.7	16.9	100.0
Total	58.4	16.6	25.1	100.0

(Source: author)

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Lochaber Highland Games has the highest presence of international visitors with 38.4% present, followed by Stirling (33.9%), Stonehaven (32.7%) and Cupar (31.9%). Distributed geographically from Fife in the east, across central Scotland and north to the Highlands, there does not appear to be any particular areas of Scotland favoured by international visitors or tourists.

A slight difference is demonstrated by UK visitors, as the majority were found at Abernethy (37.7%) followed by Lochaber (33%) and Braemar (25.7%) which are all located in the Highland region of Scotland. The appeal of northern events may reflect the importance and significance of geographical location and place, similarly to Krippendorf (1986) who established that tourists can be influenced by physical and attractive landscapes unique to a country (Rooney and Pillsbury, 1992). As nations living closer to Scotland, there is the possibility that other UK residents are more intent in seeking out a specific type of experience by attending Highland games they consider to be an authentic or *'real'* Highland experience, in a similar fashion of the Victorian period when the Highlands were a main attraction for UK travellers (Burnett, 2000; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Jarvie, 2000; Keay and Keay, 1994). This can be particularly beneficial to Scotland as a tourist destination hosting events across the country the indications are that some of the more remote Highland locations could be influential in generating tourism income for the local economy and rural areas (Yeoman et al., 2007).

Establishing normal country of residence begins to delineate the heterogonous characteristics of audiences found at Highland games and could be construed as building social and cultural relations between groups of people in the form of bridging social capital proposed by Rojek (2010). This has been prominent in sports events where bonding and bridging social capital were found by Harris (1998), Jarvie (2003), Roberts (2004), Taylor (2011) and Tonts (2005). Developing an understanding of audience characteristics assists with addressing objective four to explore the socio-demographic characteristics of the spectators and the social capital element of the fifth objective.

Events are social occasions where there may be interaction between individuals, groups and acquaintances as families meet to enjoy a social occasion and enhance the event experience.

6.1.4.1 Living locally, on holiday and origin of travel

The connection between local residents and the events begins to differentiate between tourists and day visitors to increase knowledge and understanding of the diversity of audience characteristics. Extending the exploration of group composition and characteristics disclose findings to answer the fourth objective to explore socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.

Further analysis of home and holiday categories is illustrated in Table 6.4 indicating that interestingly 21.2% have travelled from home and planning to spend more than one day in the area, suggesting elements of domestic tourism associated with the events and event tourism. A substantial 75.2% of holidaymakers are residing in the area for more than one day which may be an indication of deliberate planning to coincide with being on holiday and visiting attending the event. If holiday plans are scheduled around Highland games it is likely to bring economic benefits to the area as overnight tourists are more likely to spend time in the local community sightseeing as proposed by Gibson et al., (2003). Further research would have to be conducted to identify if events were the main pull factor assigned by Dann (1981) and Smith et al., (2010) as the primary travel motivator. A further 26% are on holiday at the event as day visitors as a result there are definite signs of events as pull factors that are attracting tourists already in the country. From the level of information received it is not possible to determine if individuals were in the region for the primary purpose of attending the event. However, the findings suggest evidence of event tourism activity associated with Highland games in relation to second objective to explore for evidence between Highland games and event tourism.

The findings suggest that holidaymakers are travelling to events as day visitors whilst others are holidaying in the local area implying significant levels of tourism taking place around Highland games. This movement includes domestic tourism and international tourism which may have implications for Highland games' contribution economically, and socially to Scotland in terms of

culture, sport and event appeal. Individuals are represented by day visitors, tourists or local residents. Further exploration of the composition of the main reason for attending and intention to stay in the area, will provide improved details of the ability to build social capital between spectators to answer the fifth objective and contribution to event tourism in response to the second objective.

Establishing if event goers are residing in the area for a protracted stay or visiting as a day tripper can be explored further to assist with understanding the day visitor and holidaymakers with main reasons for attending the event.

Table 6. 4 Cross tabulation between travelling from home or on holiday and on a day trip and spending more than one day in the area of the event

		Day trip or more than one day in the area			
Travelling from home or on holiday		Day trip	More than one day in the area	Local	Total
Home	Count	426	100	238	764
	% within Day trip or more than one day in the area	70.6%	21.2%	98.8%	58.1%
Holiday	Count	157	355	2	514
	% within Day trip or more than one day in the area	26.0%	75.2%	0.8%	39.1%
Business/ work	Count	9	3	0	12
	% within Day trip or more than one day in the area	1.5%	0.6%	0.0%	0.9%
Other*	Count	11	14	1	26
	% within Day trip or more than one day in the area	1.8%	3.0%	0.4%	2.0%
Total	Count	603	472	241	1316
	% within Day trip or more than one day in the area	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Source: author) (The other* in the row is unspecified)

When the events are presented individually the ratio between residing for more than one day in the vicinity of the events increases understanding of the regions that are most represented by tourists (see Table 5.7 for comparison with organisers estimations).

Individual events in connection with day visitors or spending more than one day in the area are presented in Table 6.5. Lochaber (75%) was the event where

most respondents were in the area for more than one day which as a remote small town in the Highlands (see Figure 4.3) may be appealing to tourists and has the infrastructure to accommodate tourists. Luss (50%) has the second highest number of people spending more than one night in the area which is a very small village close to the major city of Glasgow.

Table 6. 5 Cross tabulation with event and whether spending more than one day in the area of the event

	Day trip or more than one day in the area			
	Day trip	More than one day in the area	Local	Total
Bathgate	27.9%	14.0%	58.1%	100.0%
Carrick	50.0%	18.2%	31.8%	100.0%
Lesmahagow	27.7%	9.2%	63.1%	100.0%
Cupar	43.5%	24.6%	31.9%	100.0%
Stirling	53.5%	33.1%	13.4%	100.0%
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	42.9%	36.3%	20.9%	100.0%
Stonehaven	63.7%	17.7%	18.6%	100.0%
Tomintoul	54.7%	32.8%	12.5%	100.0%
Luss	40.5%	50.0%	9.5%	100.0%
Lochaber	14.3%	75.0%	10.7%	100.0%
Inverkeithing	58.2%	18.2%	23.6%	100.0%
Abernethy	39.3%	47.5%	13.1%	100.0%
Cowal	41.0%	49.3%	9.7%	100.0%
Braemar	56.2%	41.7%	2.1%	100.0%
Peebles	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Total	45.8%	35.9%	18.3%	100.0%

(Source: author)

Situated at the end of the Cowal peninsula and demanding a long road journey or short ferry ride, Cowal (49.3%) is the third highest location accommodating tourists and one of the largest events in Scotland. Spending more than one day in the area implies some level of event tourism is taking place which relates to the second objective. The least proportions were Lesmahagow (9.2%), Stonehaven (17.7%) with Carrick and Inverkeithing accounting for 18.2% of respondents spending more than one day in the area.

As illustrated in Table 6.6 respondents living locally and travelling from home account for 34.8% providing an apparent indication of resident community support, whereas respondents who had travelled from a holiday residence accounted for 26.4% signifying a substantial number of people are travelling to the event as day excursionists. Competitors were not a key theme within the research context although the social groups accompanying competitors are valuable contributing factors since 24.6% travelling from home are day visitors and 3.5% actually competing. The contribution by competitors and travelling companions (28.1%) is not insignificant as their compulsion to travel further afield to compete at multiple events is likely to be distributed across a wider region and it may be assumed that the event is the motivating or pull factor for attendance (Dann, 1981; Smith et al., 2010). Following a circuit is neither new nor unusual in sporting environments of Highland games as there is ample documentation recording athletes travelling between events and countries to compete at Highland games, by authors such as Burnett (2000), Colquhoun and Machell (1927) Davidson (2009), Macdonell (1937), McCombie-Smith (1892) and Webster (2011).

Table 6. 6 Cross tabulation of main reason to be at event and if travelled from home or on holiday

Count within home or on holiday	Home or on holiday				
	Home	Holiday	Working	Other	Total
Live locally	266	1	0	2	269
	34.8%	0.2%	0.0%	7.7%	20.4%
Holiday/pleasure	202	417	9	14	642
	26.4%	81.1%	75.0%	53.8%	48.8%
Visiting friends and relatives	61	58	0	0	119
	8.0%	11.3%	0.0%	0.0%	9.0%
Member of party competing	188	24	0	5	217
	24.6%	4.7%	0.0%	19.2%	16.5%
Coach tour	4	3	0	1	8
	0.5%	0.6%	0.0%	3.8%	0.6%
Business/work	13	4	3	1	21
	1.7%	0.8%	25.0%	3.8%	1.6%
Competing	27	4	0	2	33
	3.5%	0.8%	0.0%	7.7%	2.5%
Other*	3	3	0	1	7
	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	3.8%	0.5%
Total	764	514	12	26	1316
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Source: author) (The "other*" in the row category includes: looking for a house in the area, judging, raising money for charity, friends visiting wanted to come, education fieldwork. The other in the column is unspecified. The working category denotes individuals that normally reside elsewhere, are temporarily working in the area)

The VFR variable indicates 8% have travelled from home implying the respondents are no longer living locally although likely to be residing close enough to the event to be a visitor rather than a tourist. The 11.3% VFR category on holiday appears to suggest a return to childhood roots or to visit friends, perhaps returning specifically to attend the event which is significant in terms of social capital production. VFRs may be accompanying friends or relatives to the event in order to enjoy the social aspect and leisure experience (Torkildsen, 2005) or to be part of an environment where there are definitive

social and cultural, familial or friend connections as proposed by Carnegie and Smith (2009) and Rojek (2010).

The individuals accompanying competitors and the VFR group are important signs of group cohesion and bonds between friends and relatives and could be indicative of the manifestation of social capital proposed by Halpern (2005), spanning from family settings to communities where there are strong social networks (Harlambos and Holborn (2008). This may be specific to the geographical location or the event itself as presented by Jarvie (2003), MacLeod (2009) and Tranter (1987). Although there can be a high level of confidence in the assumption that competitor groups are together specifically for the event. The connection between the competitor groups is not defined to distinguish between individuals within the group but when taken into consideration with the VFR category, the findings in this section address the fifth objective of evidence of social capital at Highland games.

6.1.4.2 Distinctions between individual events and attendance

Exploring the connections between reasons to be at the event with individual events provides more definition between events and audience segmentation. Local support is vital to the success of community events especially when operated by volunteer organisations on a not-for-profit basis. Table 6.7 presents the findings of individual events and attendance by distinct group types. When individual events are compared in terms of local resident support the four most patronised by the local population are Lesmahagow 63.1%, Bathgate 53.5%, Carrick 40.9% and Inverkeithing 34.5%.

The most disparate results and two major anomalies are demonstrated by the local attendance at Cowal which only attracted 6.9% of the overall attendance and Braemar with only 2.1% of the overall attendance comprising local residents. Care must be taken not to make inaccurate assumptions of local interest based purely on these figures as some of the rural locations that have a low population may not be representative of local interest if event attendance is proportionately high compared to the local population. For example, if all the inhabitants of Braemar and the surrounding area were present at the Braemar Gathering this would represent just below 3% of the total audience. The 2.1%

of local residents that attended the event represents a sizeable part of the community. It is no surprise that such a small percentage represents the local population especially as the event can attract an audience of 17,000 (Brewster et al., 2009).

Table 6. 7 Cross tabulation of individual events and main reason to be at the event

	Percentage within main reason to be at the event								
Name of Highland games	Live locally	Holiday/ pleasure	Visiting friends and relatives	Member of party competing	Coach tour	Business/ work	Competing	Other	Total
Bathgate	53.5	16.3	11.6	11.6	0.0	0.0	4.7	2.3	100.0
Carrick	40.9	18.2	9.1	27.3	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Lesmahagow	63.1	9.2	15.4	12.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Cupar	26.1	29.0	8.7	26.1	1.4	5.8	1.4	1.4	100.0
Stirling	13.4	49.6	5.5	14.2	2.4	3.9	7.1	3.9	100.0
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	24.2	54.9	9.9	5.5	0.0	1.1	4.4	0.0	100.0
Stonehaven	32.7	42.5	8.0	14.2	0.0	1.8	0.9	0.0	100.0
Tomintoul	15.6	42.2	14.1	20.3	0.0	0.0	7.8	0.0	100.0
Luss	10.8	74.3	8.1	5.4	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
Lochaber	10.7	82.1	5.4	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Inverkeithing	34.5	26.4	12.7	23.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.0	100.0
Abernethy	14.8	73.8	8.2	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	100.0
Cowal	6.9	43.8	8.3	36.1	0.0	1.4	3.5	0.0	100.0
Braemar	2.1	72.2	11.8	9.0	2.1	2.1	0.7	0.0	100.0
Peebles	15.6	37.7	2.6	39.0	0.0	1.3	3.9	0.0	100.0
Total	20.4	48.8	9.0	16.5	0.6	1.6	2.5	0.5	100.0

(Source: author)

Events attracting the highest percentage of tourists and visitors are Lochaber which takes place at the Highland town of Fort William, a remote small Highland town, with 82.1% of spectators on holiday, followed by Abernethy (73.8%) staged in the remote rural Highland village of Nethy Bridge. Luss is the third most frequented location by tourists, attracting 74.3% of the audience and is closely followed by Braemar (72.2%). Luss is located close to the major city of Glasgow and may benefit from efficient transport links whereas Lochaber and Braemar are situated in the Highlands and may be appealing to tourists due to their geographical location.

In descending order the next three events most visited by holidaymakers are Balloch (54.9%), Stirling (49.6%) and Cowal (43.8%). Based on these figures there is an argument developing for classifying some events as tourist attractions as they are clearly attracting a high number of visitors and tourists. Despite this, the value of events as tourist attractions is a contested opinion by McKercher et al., (2006) who suggest that short-term cultural events hold little attraction for overseas tourists. However, when associated with sport-based activity Hinch and Higham (2005) conclude events can be tourist attractions as represented by these findings. Although Highland games may not be considered by many as tourist attractions, the findings suggest some events are attracting a substantial number of spectators from the UK as well as international visitors.

Based on Coleman's (1988) structure of related groups with similar interests, evidence of social capital within the heterogeneous audiences at Highland games could be creating bridging social capital across geographically distant groups, as proposed by Seippel (2006), Tonts (2005) and. Torche and Valenzuela (2011). However this is in contrast to Portes' (1998) suggestion that social capital cannot occur between strangers.

6.1.5 Visiting friends and relatives

Visiting friends and relatives continues to be a subject of interest to researchers increasingly aware of the importance of the economic and social benefits these sections of travellers contribute to a destination. The section of the audience visiting friends and relatives presents some insight of individuals attending

Highland games whilst temporarily residing in an area that facilitates travel to the event location. The data collected from this group has captured some important findings in this under researched subject.

The data captured in Table 6.7 ascertains the event most visited by the VFR category was Lesmahagow. Claiming the largest segment of 15.4%, this town precedes Tomintoul (14.1%), Inverkeithing (12.7%), Braemar (11.8%) and Bathgate (11.6%). Braemar and Tomintoul are villages situated in remote rural locations in the Highlands (see Table 6.10 for classifications) with a low number of inhabitants, 500 and 322 respectively (Scotland's Census Results, 2001), which may account for the ratio of VFRs present if there are limited job opportunities in the vicinity of the villages. Conversely, Lesmahagow and Inverkeithing are accessible small towns whereas Bathgate is in the other urban area classification located in the Central Belt which arbitrarily encompasses the region from Glasgow in the west, Edinburgh in the east south of Stirling. The inclusion of more urban areas for VFR attendance may be attributed to a number of possibilities.

The other urban areas and remote rural classifications are at opposite ends of the urban rural classification spectrum (see Table 6.9) and whilst there are perhaps more obvious reasons for returning to the Highlands, urban locations are more easily accessible. This does not diminish the strong connections people may have with place and past memories when returning to childhood roots suggested by Gibson (1998), and is contrary to the proposal offered by MacLeod (2009) that associations with place can be broken when people move away from their childhood homes. The notion of returning to childhood roots, and socialising at events with local community residents and visitors, substantiates the building of bonding social capital within familial groups, recreating the sense of community and strong social networks proposed by Carnegie and Smith (2009) Harlambos and Holborn (2008), Mohan and Mohan (2002) and Rojek (2005).

The majority of community events are staged for the local population but as illustrated in Table 6.5 day trippers and tourists are present at all the events. When the events are explored individually by cross tabulation of event and proportion of respondents travelling from home or on holiday the findings are

presented in Table 6.8. Community events celebrate local identity according to Raj and Vignali (2010) and create tourism opportunities and enjoyment and Highland games have the appeal to attract visitors (Tranter, 1998). Although Frost (2012) proposes that the local residents are the priority for rural events over tourists.

Lesmahagow is the event where the highest proportion of respondents had travelled from home (89.2%) followed by Carrick with 86.4% and Bathgate (79.1%) consequently with the lowest percentage of holidaymakers. Alternatively Luss (43.2%), Abernethy (31.1%) and Lochaber had the least proportion of travellers from home compared to the 55.4% (Luss), 67.2% (Abernethy) and 77.7% (Lochaber) of holidaymakers. The most equal distribution of travelling from home or on holiday was found at Braemar with 48.6% travelling from home and 44.4% holidaymakers.

The three events with most home audience are held in urban areas whereas two of the events with most attending holidaymakers are geographically located in the Highland region of Scotland. Perhaps it is the Highland landscape that attracts a high number of holidaymakers. Whereas the third most populated event by holidaymakers are found at Luss although a very small village it is very easily accessible from Glasgow, one of the major cities in Scotland.

Table 6. 8 Cross tabulation with individual event and if travelled from home or on holiday

Name of Highland games with home or on holiday cross tabulation		Home or on holiday				
		Home	Holiday	Working	Other	Total
Bathgate	Count	34	7	0	2	43
		79.1%	16.3%	0.0%	4.7%	100.0%
Carrick	Count	19	2	0	1	22
		86.4%	9.1%	0.0%	4.5%	100.0%
Lesmahagow	Count	58	7	0	0	65
		89.2%	10.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Cupar	Count	43	22	0	4	69
		62.3%	31.9%	0.0%	5.8%	100.0%
Stirling	Count	69	49	1	8	127
		54.3%	38.6%	0.8%	6.3%	100.0%
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	Count	48	40	1	2	91
		52.7%	44.0%	1.1%	2.2%	100.0%
Stonehaven	Count	67	45	0	1	113
		59.3%	39.8%	0.0%	0.9%	100.0%
Tomintoul	Count	40	24	0	0	64
		62.5%	37.5%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Luss	Count	32	41	1	0	74
		43.2%	55.4%	1.4%	0.0%	100.0%
Lochaber	Count	25	87	0	0	112
		22.3%	77.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Inverkeithing	Count	84	25	1	0	110
		76.4%	22.7%	0.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Abernethy	Count	19	41	0	1	61
		31.1%	67.2%	0.0%	1.6%	100.0%
Cowal	Count	100	39	0	5	144
		69.4%	27.1%	0.0%	3.5%	100.0%
Braemar	Count	70	64	8	2	144
		48.6%	44.4%	5.6%	1.4%	100.0%
Peebles	Count	56	21	0	0	77
		72.7%	27.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	764	514	12	26	1316
		58.1%	39.1%	0.9%	2.0%	100.0%

(Source: author)

The association with geographical place and location is explored in relation to Scottish or other visitors and tourists present at events.

6.2 Geographical place, location: tourists, visitors and community

Staging events transforms space and place into unique temporal settings to create an environment for social exchanges and enjoyment. In order to contextualise the events within an urban rural classification the Scottish Government's six fold urban rural classifications were used as a guide, illustrated in Table 6.9

Table 6. 9 Scottish Government 6 fold urban rural classification, 2011-2012

	Scottish Government 6 fold Urban Rural Classification
1. Large Urban Areas	Settlements of 125,000 or more people
2. Other urban areas	Settlements of 10,000 to 124,999 people
3. Accessible Small Towns	Settlements of 3,000 to 9,999 people and within 30 minutes drive of a settlement of 10,00 or more
4. Remote Small Towns	Settlements of 3,000 to 9,999 people and with a drive of over 30 minutes to a settlement of 10,00 or more
5. Accessible Rural	Areas with a population of less than 3,000 people, and within a 30 minute drive time of a settlement of 10,000 or more
6. Remote Rural	Areas with a population of less than 3,000 people, and with a drive time of over 30 minutes to a settlement of 10,000 or more

(Source: Scottish Government, 2014)

When the event locations were allocated to the above classifications, it was found that within this study there were no events in (1) large urban areas (Scottish government, 2014).

Each event was placed within the formal classification set by the Scottish Government although this alone was not considered to provide enough detail to understand the geographical environment and landscape of individual Highland

games. Therefore each event was designated an urban rural classification along with population (www.gro-scotland.gov.uk) and spectator attendance to illustrate a clearer indication of the size of the township and event audience (see Table 6.10). When the attendance figures are considered alongside the local population, the figures reveal a more obvious indication of the ratio of event participants to local population. A closer look at geographical location and distribution of tourists and day visitors now follows

Table 6.10 signifies that even the smallest communities are capable of staging moderately large events, noticeably Luss with a population of approximately 120, which attracts between 3,000 and 5,999 spectators and Braemar with a population of 500 attracting audiences around 17,000 (Brewster et al., 2009)..

Table 6. 10 Urban rural classification of individual events, population and approximate size of audience

Urban Rural Classification	Highland Games' Location	Population	Highland Games' Attendance
Other urban areas	Balloch (Loch Lomond)	44,770	6,000-8,999
	Bathgate	15,068	1,500-2,999
	Stirling	32,673	3,000-5,999
Accessible small town	Cupar	8,506	1,500-2,999
	Lesmahagow	3,685	<1,500
	Inverkeithing	5,412	1,500-2,999
	Peebles	8,065	Unrecorded
	Stonehaven	9,577	1,500-2,999
Remote small town	Carrick (Girvan)	6,992	Unrecorded
	Cowal (Dunoon)	8,251	≥12,000
	Lochaber (Fort William)	9,908	3,000-5,999
Accessible rural	Luss	120	3,000-5,999
Remote rural	Abernethy (Nethy Bridge)	498	3,000-5,999
Remote rural	Braemar	500	≥12,000
	Tomintoul	322	3,000-5,999

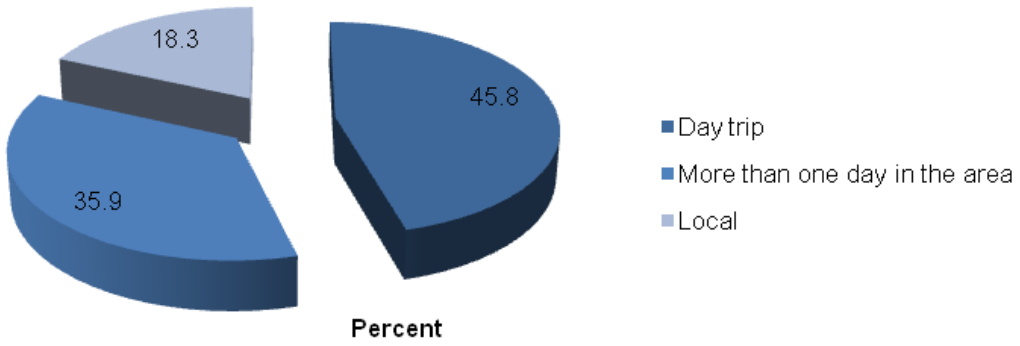
(Source: Scottish Government, 2014)

Although Highland games originated in rural Highland areas, contemporary events take place across a wider variety of rural and urbanised locations. When the size of the local population is compared with the approximate number of attendees some smaller remote communities are attracting substantial visitors and tourists. If the role and significance of events continues to increase within tourism and leisure as proposed by Paolo et al. (2004), the significance of individual events and the events collectively should not be underrated.

6.2.1 Tourists and visitors

Many events rely on day visitors and tourists to boost the attendance figures and the importance of Highland games to smaller rural communities is likely to have greater impact than urban areas where the arrival of increased numbers of day trippers and tourists is less noticeable. Hall (2005) suggests that day trippers are categorised by travelling on a round trip of at least 50 kilometres however, in this study if respondents indicated they were on a day trip this was considered sufficient to attribute to the day trip or visitor category. A better understanding of the movement of day trippers and tourists to the events would contribute to improved comprehension of tourist activity surrounding Highland games. The ratio of local residents, day trippers and tourists spending more than one day at the event destination is illustrated in Figure 6.5. The ratio of individuals attending on a day trip was a substantial 45.8%, whereas 35.9% were spending more than one day in the area and 18.3% were local residents. Day visitors and tourists combined represent 81.7% of spectators which demonstrates that people are willing to travel to the event or enjoy an event as part of the holiday experience or as a day trip. The majority of community events are staged for the local population but as presented in Table 6.8 individuals travelling from home or were on holiday are present at all the events.

Figure 6. 5 On a day trip or spending more than one day in the area of the event



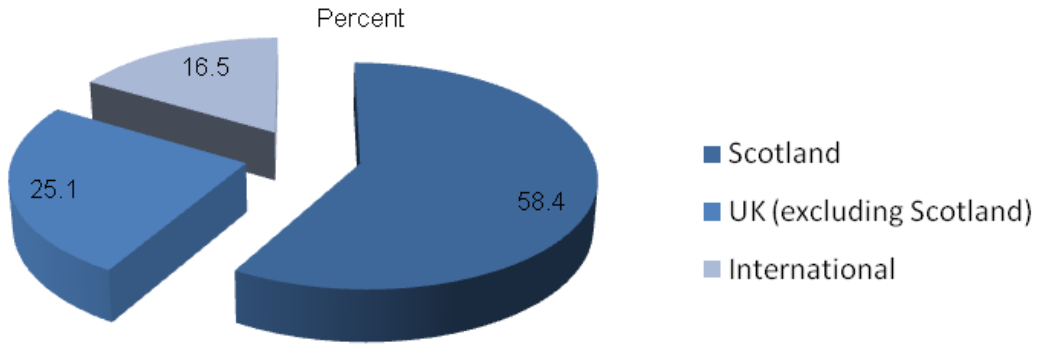
(Source: author)

There is growing evidence that Highland games are part of the tourist experience, as illustrated in Table 6.8 where 39.1% in attendance are on holiday. This partly addresses the second objective to explore if Highland games are contributing to event tourism in Scotland.

After identifying the ratio of local people, day trippers and tourists, it was appropriate to determine visitor and tourist patterns in terms of country of origin. Data was combined into a manageable data set by separating Scottish respondents from the rest of the UK and distinguishing international visitors. The purpose of segmenting spectators in Scotland, UK and international was threefold; to identify the level of Scottish residents' interest, to acquire further knowledge of UK interest and to determine the percentage of international visitation to the events. The ratios are illustrated in Figure 6.6 and as anticipated, Scottish resident respondents dominated with 58.4% followed by international visitors (25.1%) and the rest of the UK represented by 16.5% attendance. International visitors represent a quarter of respondents which is substantial as along with UK residents denote 41.7% of the total spectators. These findings are in line with Smith and Forest (2009) who found that small special themed events can attract day visitors, domestic and international

tourists. It can be surmised that most of this group of UK and international visitors are tourists which is a considerable ratio of local events collectively contributing to the tourism economy of Scotland.

Figure 6. 6 Visitors originating from Scotland, other parts of the UK and international



(Source: author)

The unknown factor which cannot be identified in this survey is determining if the Highland games events are the catalyst for the journey to Scotland or if the events are part of the holiday experience. Perhaps some of the respondents were in the area for reasons other than attending the event such as visiting friends and relatives or some other secondary or tertiary reason as proposed by Deery et al. (2004), Gelder and Robinson (2010), Hinch and Higham (2004), Hughes (2000) and Smith and Forest (2009). A further study would be required to clearly define if the event was the motivating factor for attending. When exploring the origin of respondents further, the findings determine if day trippers are on holiday and travelling to the event as part of the holiday experience which could identify this group as event tourists, contributing to the second objective.

The number of people travelling is cross tabulated by normal place of residence to comprehend the quotient of day trippers attending the events whilst on

holiday. Table 6.11 illustrates the majority of Scottish residents are day trippers (54.2%) international tourists are second highest with 42.4% and finally 21.6% of UK visitors are on day trips. The findings determine that some Scottish respondents are holidaying in the area although the majority of holidaymakers are represented by UK residents (78%) and international tourists (57.3%). This may be accounted for by international tourists taking the opportunity to travel around the country as part of the holiday experience whereas UK residents may not be so inclined to spend holiday time travelling.

Table 6. 11 Cross tabulation of Scotland, UK or International visitor with on a day trip or spending more than one day in the vicinity of the event

		Day trip or more than one day in the vicinity			
		Day trip	More than one day in the area	Local	Total
Scotland	Count	416	113	239	768
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	54.2%	14.7%	31.1%	100.0%
	% of Total	31.6%	8.6%	18.2%	58.4%
UK	Count	47	170	1	218
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	21.6%	78.0%	0.5%	100.0%
	% of Total	3.6%	12.9%	0.1%	16.6%
International	Count	140	189	1	330
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	42.4%	57.3%	0.3%	100.0%
	% of Total	10.6%	14.4%	0.1%	25.1%
	Count	603	472	241	1316
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	45.8%	35.9%	18.3%	100.0%
	% of Total	45.8%	35.9%	18.3%	100.0%

(Source: author)

As expected, Scottish residents are least represented in staying for more than one day in the area but the 14.7% that are on holiday provides an insight of leisure activities undertaken by domestic tourists. This is an important indication that the events are not only part of UK and international tourism but are also contributing to domestic tourism figures.

To explore for relationships or associations between the variables, Pearson's Chi-square test analysed the association between Scotland, UK and

international respondents with whether the respondents were on a day trip or spending more than one day in the area.

The Chi-square test signifies an association between the variables depicted in Table 6.12. There is a statistical significance of $\chi 2$ (4) = 451.47, p < 05. This suggests there is a relationship between Scotland, UK and international respondents and whether the respondents are on a day trip or spending more than one day in the area of the event.

Table 6. 12 Chi-square of grouped nationality (Scotland, UK and international) and day trip or more than one day in the vicinity of the event

Chi-square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	451.468[a]	4	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	524.271	4	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.621	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	1316		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.92

(Source: author)

When the strength of the relationship is tested using Cramer's V test, the findings present a slightly higher than moderate association between Scotland, UK and international respondents and whether on a day trip or spending more than one day in the area depicted by Cramer's V =.586 (Table 6.13).

Table 6. 13 Cramer's V association between Scottish, UK and international based respondents if in the area for more than one day

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.586	.000
	Cramer's V	.414	.000
N of Valid Cases		1316	

(Source: author)

The relationship between individuals and the length of time spent in the location around the event is central to understanding links and associations between

time spent as a day visitor or tourist at Highland games. The next section explores group composition and social characteristics.

6.3 Group composition and social characteristics

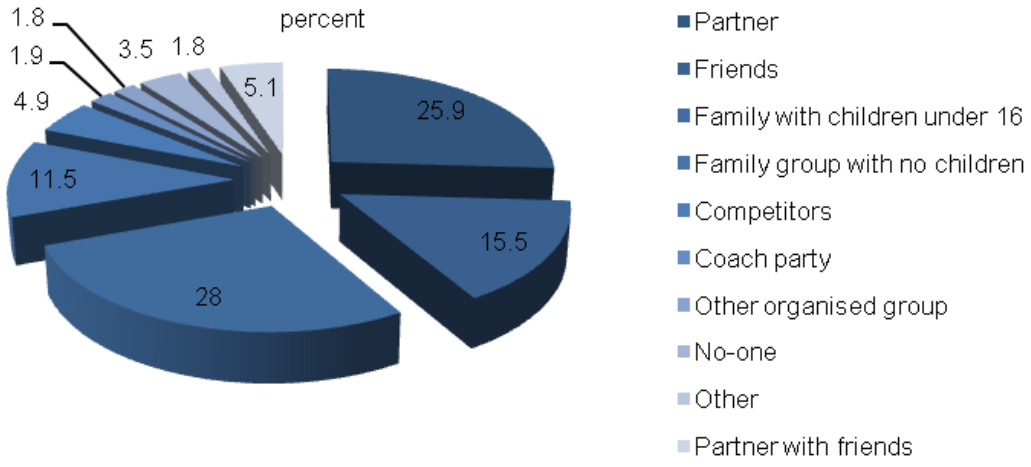
Events provide an opportunity for individuals to come together, and share experiences that may involve social interactions with family or friends. Some of the advantages of being part of a group is the mutual trust and reciprocity bound within Halpern's (2005) networks and network members (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1), although it is considered by Sharpley and Stone (2012) and Tonts (2005) that social capital is difficult to measure. This facilitates investigation of group composition and interaction between heterogeneous groups which may be in the form of bridging or bonding capital between different social groups. The findings address the fifth objective to explore social capital and the fourth objective relating to socio-demographic characteristics of respondents.

It cannot be presupposed that tourists and visitors arriving at a community event will automatically lead to the formation of social capital except for the fact that they are attending the same themed event, which does suggest a shared interest as proposed by Coleman (1988) and the consumption of similar leisure activities (Arcodia and Whitford, 2008; Seippel, 2006). Figure 6.7 represents group characteristics across the events, highlighting that family groups with children under 16 represented the largest percentage of 28%, followed by couples (25.9%), groups of friends (15.5%) and the final noteworthy group was adult family groups (11.5%). The variation in group configuration signifies the broad appeal of Highland games to family and adult groups, indicating appeal across the multiple lifestyle stages proposed by Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975). That most respondents were travelling with companions appears to be significant signs of bonding social capital and shared values advocated by Burt (2000) and Wilks (2012).

The remaining group characteristics comprised partner and friends (5.1%) which informs of groups greater of two or more, competitors (4.9%) and unaccompanied individuals. This research found a very small minority of respondents were on their own which could be a reflection on the findings of Putman (1995) where individuals preferred solo activities. There may be a case

to argue that as individuals share the event experience they are *'members'* of a *'Highland games'* community manifesting social capital by being present at the event without misgivings of safety or issues of trust, although this may be extending the use of social capital too broadly according to the writings of Portes (1998).

Figure 6. 7 Group composition



(Source: author)

The universal appeal of Highland games is perhaps due to the content and the competitive element, particularly children's events and Highland dancing where there can be substantial numbers of children and young adults competing. Based on the premise that people are seeking a shared experience within an environment of common interest, it can be surmised that there is some evidence of social capital creation found at Highland games whether attending as a group or an individual.

Table 6.14 illustrates comparisons between the social groups at events and whether they have travelled from home are on holiday. The findings draw attention to the variety of family groups visiting the event when they are on holiday. The family groups with children under sixteen years of age are of

particular interest, choosing to visit Highland games when there are likely to be many other entertainment options.

Family groups with children under sixteen travelling from home were the majority group (19.6%), 8.3% of which were on holiday (see Table 6.14). Couples travelling together represented 12.8% travelling from home and an equal 12.8% attending the event whilst on holiday. There are many accounts of the congenial atmosphere at Highland games (Gibson, 1882; Jarvie, 2003; McCall Smith, 2003; Ross, 2014) and may be a factor in attracting families. It is useful knowledge to have when developing tourism or event strategies.

Table 6. 14 Cross tabulation with group composition and if travelling from home or on holiday

	Percentage of Total – Home or on holiday				
Group composition	Home	Holiday	Working	Other	Total
Partner	12.8	12.8	0.2	0.2	25.9
Friends	7.3	6.9	0.5	0.8	15.5
Family with children under 16	19.6	8.3	0.0	0.2	28.0
Family group with no children	5.1	6.2	0.1	0.1	11.5
Competitors	4.4	0.4	0.0	0.2	4.9
Coach party	1.5	0.3	0.0	0.1	1.9
Other organised group	1.2	0.5	0.0	0.2	1.8
No one	1.8	1.2	0.2	0.2	3.5
Other organised group	1.1	0.6	0.0	0.2	1.8
Partner and friends	3.2	1.9	0.0	0.0	5.1
Total	58.1	39.1	0.9	2.0	100.0

(Source: author) The other category in the column is undisclosed. The working category denotes individuals that normally reside elsewhere and are temporarily working in the area)

As discussed in Section 4.4.3 obvious competitors were not approached although some competitors who were part of the audience (Paolo et al., 2004) and not wearing distinct competitive attire either prior to, or after competing, completed surveys. The data captured in the *"other"* variable column is unspecified.

Attending with friends accounted for the third highest with relatively equal numbers travelling from home (7.3%) or on holiday (6.9%) followed by family

groups with no children representing 5.1% travelling from home and 6.2% on holiday. Except for family groups with children under 16, there is no great disproportion between the social characteristics of the groups and whether travelling from home or on holiday. The combination of family groups is 39.5% suggesting a high level of interest, followed by couples travelling (25.9%) as the second highest segment. There is a robust case for arguing that evidence exists of social capital at Highland games by the mere detail that the majority of spectators are part of a group, which is in accordance with Wilks (2012) relating to shared values, strong family links (Bourdieu, 1985) and groups (Coleman, 1988). Association and membership by Burt (2000), Giddens and Sutton (2009) and Halpern (2005) are linked with social capital, and would be indicative of the presence of social capital in some form within the groups in response to the fifth objective to explore for evidence of building social capital.

It is apparent that irrespective of the composition of spectator groups, the evidence determines a broad range of social groups are present and both adults and children are well represented. The following section pursues the social characteristics of spectators by exploring the social classifications of respondents.

6.3.1 Social classifications of those attending

Historically, different types of sporting events were favoured by different social classes, the élite preferring exclusive leisure pursuits on privately owned land and working classes participating in leisure activities requiring little or minimal costs (Gibson, 1882; Tranter, 1998, 2007). Consuming divergent leisure pursuits ensured the society élite would not be involved with the lower or working classes although this was not found to be the case at Highland games where all social classes were represented. Exploring social classifications contributes to the socio-demographic characteristics of the audience and addresses the fourth objective.

It has been determined that Highland games have broad appeal to both adults and children and to explore the characteristics of individuals collectively, this section explores the range of social backgrounds. The social classifications

were based on the traditional UK format presented by Ipsos MediaTV (2009) illustrated in Table 6.15.

Table 6. 15 Category of social classifications

Category	Description
A	High managerial, administrative or professional
B	Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
C1	Administrative or professional
C2	Skilled manual workers
D	Semi and unskilled manual workers
E	Unemployed with state benefits, retired

(Source: Ipsos MediaTV, 2009)

As Table 6.16 illustrates, the group with the highest percentage emerged as social classification E accounting for 29.4% of respondents. The subsequent categories are C1 (26.1%), B (21.5%), C2 (10.2%), D (7.6%) and group A, 5.2%. It is significant that group E has the highest percentage and demonstrates the accessibility of the events and appeal across all social divides.

Table 6. 16 Dissemination of social classification

		Number of cases	Valid Percent
Valid	A	67	5.2
	B	279	21.5
	C1	339	26.1
	C2	132	10.2
	D	99	7.6
	E	381	29.4
	Total	1297	100.0
Missing	System	19	
Total		1316	

(Source: author)

This indicates the accessibility of the events and re-enforces appeal across all social categories. The relatively low priced admission fees and/or in some instances free admission may be an influential driver for attendance.

The analysis was extended to individual events to determine if there were any distinct patterns or relationships between social classification and named events (see Table 6.17). There appears to be a pattern in this data between social classifications and attending the less expensive events as Carrick with 59.1%, has the highest percentage of D and E classifications and was the only free event of the fifteen where research was conducted and Bathgate accounted for the second highest D and E respondents (47.6%). At the Bathgate event, spectators gained entrance by purchasing a programme as an alternative to admission charges and had the option to donate money for further support. Thus, enabling spectators some control over their spending. Whilst it may be unsurprising that D and E social groups are attending events where outgoing expenditure may be limited it does not signify a trend across all events as Cowal (45.8%) and Braemar (44.8%) had the highest entrance fees and the third and fourth highest proportion of D and E respondents. The events that attracted the higher social occupational groups were primarily Tomintoul (39.1%), Luss (37%), Stonehaven (36.9%), Loch Lomond (34.1%), Stirling (33.9%), Cupar (33.8%) and Lochaber (30.6%).

There were some indications of differences between individual events when comparing the social class of respondents across all events although collectively the varying levels of participation across all social classes varied between 26.7% A and B classifications then increasing slightly to very similar results from C1 and C2 (36.3%) and D and E (37%). This is very encouraging in terms of audience participation and establishes Highland games as events that have wide appeal to all social classifications.

There are numerous accounts of the convivial atmosphere enjoyed at Highland games by competitors and audiences where there are no differences between lairds and the shepherds fostering egalitarianism (Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Tranter, 1989). Where events are valued as much for enjoyment and friendliness as their power attracting visitors (Gibson, 1961; Knoblach and Faraday, 1927; Tranter, 1998)

Table 6. 17 Cross tabulation of individual events and social classification

Event and count with Highland games	Grouped social classification			
	A and B	C1 and C2	D and E	Total
Bathgate	8	14	20	42
	19.0%	33.3%	47.6%	100.0%
Carrick	3	6	13	22
	13.6%	27.3%	59.1%	100.0%
Lesmahagow	12	36	14	62
	19.4%	58.1%	22.6%	100.0%
Cupar	23	17	28	68
	33.8%	25.0%	41.2%	100.0%
Stirling	41	39	44	124
	33.1%	31.5%	35.5%	100.0%
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	30	31	27	88
	34.1%	35.2%	30.7%	100.0%
Stonehaven	41	39	31	111
	36.9%	35.1%	27.9%	100.0%
Tomintoul	25	17	22	64
	39.1%	26.6%	34.4%	100.0%
Luss	27	30	16	73
	37.0%	41.1%	21.9%	100.0%
Lochaber	34	35	42	111
	30.6%	31.5%	37.8%	100.0%
Inverkeithing	15	57	38	110
	13.6%	51.8%	34.5%	100.0%
Abernethy	13	24	24	61
	21.3%	39.3%	39.3%	100.0%
Cowal	25	53	66	144
	17.4%	36.8%	45.8%	100.0%
Braemar	35	44	64	143
	24.5%	30.8%	44.8%	100.0%
Peebles	14	29	31	74
	18.9%	39.2%	41.9%	100.0%
Total	346	471	480	1297
	26.7%	36.3%	37.0%	100.0%

(Source: author)

The findings would suggest that Highland games do have the ability to build social capital in the form of bridging capital by bringing people together across social divisions (Giddens and Sutton, 2009; Harris, 1998; Wilks, 2012) which addresses the fifth objective relating to social capital creation. Some of the findings in this section continue to extend the exploration of spectator characteristics in order to answer the fourth objective related to socio-demographics. The four events with the highest proportion of unemployed and retired respondents were represented by the two potentially least expensive events and the two events with the highest entrance fee.

To explore for relationships or associations between the social class of the respondents and attendance at individual events Pearson Chi-square test was applied to social classification and named event to determine if there were any relationships between the two variables. It was found that there was some statistical significance between the two variables of χ^2 (28) = 80.304, $p < .05$ (Table 6.18)

Table 6. 18 Chi-square test between individual events and social classification

Chi-square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	80.304[a]	28	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	80.850	28	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.672	1	0.006
N of Valid Cases	1297		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.87

(Source: author)

When Cramer's V test is conducted (Table 6.19) to establish the strength of association, Cramer's V =.249 suggests in this instance, the level of association is weak between social classification and presence at Highland games. The findings indicate that although there may be substantial variances between the social classification groups at events the association is minor. The presence of a socially diverse audience suggests evidence of building social capital when social capital is linked with social divisions (Wilks, 2012).

Table 6. 19 Cramer's V level of association between social classification and individual events

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.249	.000
	Cramer's V	.176	.000
N of Valid Cases		1297	

(Source: author)

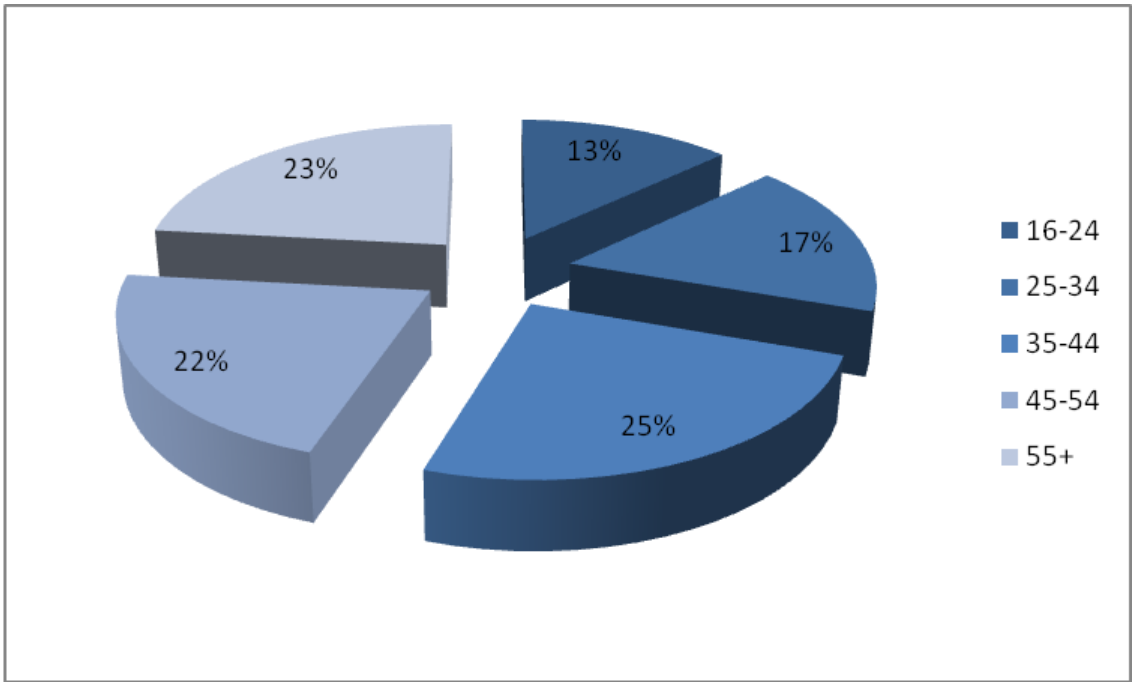
Previous sections found a cross section of family groups and social classifications in attendance at events. Taking into consideration the employment and status of the local populations may begin to determine if there are links between the economic environment of local communities and attendance at Highland games. The penultimate personal characteristic explored is age of respondents to determine appeal across a range of age groups.

6.3.2 Age group at events

Investigating the age of respondents will assist in broadening the understanding and appeal of spectator characteristics across different age groups. If younger generations are interested in Highland games this may help the sustainability and longevity of the events, particularly if they become actively involved.

There was interest across all social groups towards the Highland games and further examination of age groups signified widespread appeal. Figure 6.8 signifies a broad range of age groups present with the largest sector occupied by the 35–44 age group (24.8%), the over 55s held 23.3% and the 45–54 age group 21.7% with a relatively even spread across the categories. The least represented groups were the youngest with 25 – 34 year olds representing 17.2% of the audience and 16–24 year olds 13.1%. In general, all age groups are well represented at the events.

Figure 6. 8 Age group of respondents



(Source: author)

When comparing age groups with specific events (Table 6.20), Stirling recorded the highest proportion of 16 – 24 year olds (24.4%) which might be explained by the event taking place in close proximity to the University of Stirling. However, the second largest proportion of 16 – 24 year olds was found at Cupar in Fife (23.2%), thereafter by Bathgate (18.6%), Lochaber (17%) and Braemar (14.6%), to complete the top six most visited events by the youngest age group. At the opposite end of the spectrum Tomintoul has the fewest (4.7%) young people present, followed by Inverkeithing (6.4%) and Cowal (6.9%). Cupar and Inverkeithing are geographically located in the same county (Fife) and there is no obvious reason to explain why there is a substantial difference in numbers of young people between these two events.

There is a similar conundrum with Braemar which has the highest level of over 55s (34.7%) and Carrick with the second highest representation in this sector (31.8%) as these events are at opposite ends of the Highland games spectrum in terms of size and admission costs. Braemar is one of the most expensive, largest rural events and Carrick is a free event set within an urban environment. Other events attracting the largest category of over 55s drops to a relatively equal representation by Tomintoul (29.7%), Cowal (27.8%), Inverkeithing

(27.3%) and Peebles (26%) with the remainder falling below 22% of over 55s at the events. The findings conclude a reasonable appeal across all ages with a greater interest shown after 35 years of age. There was a relatively equal share of male (44.2%) and female (55.8%) respondents. The findings appear to suggest reasonable interest across all age groups which could be evidence of shared experiences bringing people together through a common interest proposed by Burt (2000), Page and Connell (2010) and Roberts (2004). These common interests can strengthen social links which could be evidence of bridging social capital across the age groups if attributed to Highland games and the heterogeneous nature of age groups in response to the fifth objective.

Table 6. 20 Cross tabulation of individual events and age groups

Count and percentage of Highland games with age groups	Age group of respondent					
	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
Bathgate	8	9	13	6	7	43
	18.6%	20.9%	30.2%	14.0%	16.3%	100.0%
Carrick	2	2	5	6	7	22
	9.1%	9.1%	22.7%	27.3%	31.8%	100.0%
Lesmahagow	7	15	26	11	6	65
	10.8%	23.1%	40.0%	16.9%	9.2%	100.0%
Cupar	16	17	11	13	12	69
	23.2%	24.6%	15.9%	18.8%	17.4%	100.0%
Stirling	31	22	23	23	28	127
	24.4%	17.3%	18.1%	18.1%	22.0%	100.0%
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	13	17	23	18	20	91
	14.3%	18.7%	25.3%	19.8%	22.0%	100.0%
Stonehaven	13	21	35	28	16	113
	11.5%	18.6%	31.0%	24.8%	14.2%	100.0%
Tomintoul	3	12	19	11	19	64
	4.7%	18.8%	29.7%	17.2%	29.7%	100.0%
Luss	7	17	18	18	14	74
	9.5%	23.0%	24.3%	24.3%	18.9%	100.0%
Lochaber	19	18	32	18	25	112
	17.0%	16.1%	28.6%	16.1%	22.3%	100.0%
Inverkeithing	7	18	29	26	30	110
	6.4%	16.4%	26.4%	23.6%	27.3%	100.0%
Abernethy	8	7	13	21	12	61
	13.1%	11.5%	21.3%	34.4%	19.7%	100.0%
Cowal	10	17	31	46	40	144
	6.9%	11.8%	21.5%	31.9%	27.8%	100.0%
Braemar	21	22	31	20	50	144
	14.6%	15.3%	21.5%	13.9%	34.7%	100.0%
Peebles	8	12	17	20	20	77
	10.4%	15.6%	22.1%	26.0%	26.0%	100.0%
Total	173	226	326	285	306	1316
	13.1%	17.2%	24.8%	21.7%	23.3%	100.0%

(Source: author)

When grouped social classification and age group are cross tabulated the results illustrate (Table 6.21) the single largest group are represented by the C1, C2 groups within the 35-44 age group (20.8%). The least represented category is unsurprisingly the youngest 16-24 age group and A, B social classification. Based on the specification of A and B classifications the younger representatives are unlikely to have established a professional career path at this age.

Table 6. 21 Cross tabulation of social classification and age group

Grouped social classification		Age group of respondent					Total
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	
A and B	Count	13	88	111	88	46	346
	% within Grouped social classification	3.8%	25.4%	32.1%	25.4%	13.3%	100.0%
C1 and C2	Count	49	90	145	133	54	471
	% within Grouped social classification	10.4%	19.1%	30.8%	28.2%	11.5%	100.0%
D and E	Count	111	46	66	54	203	480
	% within Grouped social classification	23.1%	9.6%	13.8%	11.2%	42.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	173	224	322	275	303	1297
	% within Grouped social classification	13.3%	17.3%	24.8%	21.2%	23.4%	100.0%

(Source: author)

Further statistical inquiry employing Pearson Chi-square test signifies there is a relationship between age groups and social classification in relation to presence at Highland games (Table 6.22) where a statistical significance of χ^2 (8) = 283.319, < .05 was calculated indicating a relationship between the two variables.

Table 6. 22 Chi-square test of social classification and age group

Chi-square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	283.319[a]	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	290.316	8	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.039	1	.014
N of Valid Cases	1297		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 46.15

(Source: author)

Further analysis reveals the strength of the association between age groups and social classification is moderate, as represented by Cramer's V test the relationship is =.467 out of a possible maximum of 1 (Table 6.23). This represents a medium association between the likelihood of age influencing attendance at Highland games.

Table 6. 23 Cramer's V level of association between social classification and age group

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.467	.000
	Cramer's V	.330	.000
N of Valid Cases		1297	

(Source: author)

There are some levels of disparity in the composition of groups, age of respondents or social class, which is a significant factor indicative of the broad appeal of Highland games in relation to socio-demographic characteristics. Combined with support from the local population, visitors and tourists further determines that Highland games are environments that enable people to seek and find social capital in surroundings that promote sharing experiences through a common interest. Understanding the characteristics of people who attend events provides a platform for increased understanding and how that knowledge may be utilised for the benefit of the events, the regions and the country.

6.4 Knowledge of event and frequency of attendance

To understand the movement of people to the events it was pertinent to evaluate if spectators had knowledge of the event prior to arriving on site. For organisers of events much of the success may depend on personal knowledge of the event or promotional activity which can be linked to cultural or sporting themes advocated by Candreas and Ispas (2010). One advantage of the scheduling of Highland games is that many are normally held on the same day each year (i.e. third Saturday in July (Allan, 1974; Brander, 1992; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Davidson, 2009). Travel patterns of event goers and frequency of attendance at annual events is of interest for academics to understand travel patterns and touristic activity (e.g. Liang et al, 2008; Nilbe et al., 2014). Such information may be particularly beneficial for geographers and researchers interested in travel and event visitation.

In order to understand the awareness of event participants the respondents were asked if they had prior knowledge of the event before arriving on site, which was specific to the event where the survey was conducted. The result was a resounding 91.6% aware of the event prior to arriving with only 8.4% not setting out with a previous plan to visit the event (Table 6.24). As proposed by Deery et al., (2005) and Gelder and Robinson (2010) not all visitors travel specifically to attend an event, some tourists or visitors be present in the area unaware the event was taking place, but on arrival make unplanned visits to events at the destination.

Table 6. 24 Awareness of the event prior to attending

		Number of cases	Valid Percent
Valid	Yes	1206	91.6
	No	110	8.4
	Total	1316	100.0
Total		1316	

(Source: author)

Most Highland games are considered to be successful if enough funds are generated to finance the following year's event and due to the financial

restraints of not-for-profit organisations many events do not have access to large promotional budgets.

To determine where respondents found out about the events an open-ended question elicited an extensive variation of responses with the majority (25.6%) having previously attended the event. The second group (18.3%) searched for information on the Internet while a further 6.7% found printed literature at Visitor Information Centres (TIC) and 6.1% had local knowledge of the event. Printed literature available at TIC's is most likely to have been provided by event organisers or perhaps featured in the online What's On Scotland calendar collated by VisitScotland although organisers must submit a completed form for approval and pay for inclusion (VisitScotland). The other more notable responses included knowledge through friends (5%) family members (4.4%) and local newspapers (4%) with smaller percentages covering a variety of printed and verbal sources. Interestingly in 2014 for the first time EventScotland published an online brochure dedicated to Highland games (About Scotland Highland games and gatherings, 2015). Combined with an uncommon interest in Highland games a television advert was broadcast on 17th July sponsored by VisitScotland (STV, 2014) which was a general promotion of all Highland games. This unusual activity may be due to the discontinuation of the albagames website which is no longer maintained or updated (personal communication, 2015). Historically VisitScotland has not been visibly active in promoting Highland games at national level so this activity can be considered as positive step for the organisers and may encourage an increase in domestic attendance.

Conducting cross tabulation analysis provides further information on the respondents' knowledge of the events prior to arriving as illustrated in Table 6.25. Unsurprisingly, it was holidaymakers (6.2%) that were most unaware of the event prior to arriving. This suggests tourists were passing through the area when travelling between destinations or were staying in local accommodation and found out about the event only after arriving at the destination. Spectators that have not planned to attend the event can be defined as accidental event tourists according to Deery et al., (2005) and Gelder and Robinson (2010). Such visitors find out about the event only after arriving at the destination.

However, holidaymakers also generated the highest percentage of awareness (42.5%) indicating that many tourists arriving in Scotland are aware of Highland games prior to arriving in the country and may have made plans to coincide with a scheduled visit to the event during their stay.

Table 6. 25 Cross tabulation between main reason for attending the surveyed event and awareness prior to attending

	Were you aware of today's games before coming? (percentage of Total)		
Attendance	Yes	No	Total
Live locally	20.5	0.0	20.5
Holiday/pleasure	42.5	6.2	48.7
Visiting friends and relatives	7.4	1.7	9.0
Member of party competing	16.3	0.2	16.5
Coach tour	0.5	0.1	0.6
Business/work	1.5	0.1	1.6
Competing	2.5	0.0	2.5
Other*	0.5	0.1	0.5
Total	91.6	8.4	100.0

(Source: author) (The "other*" in the row category includes: looking for a house in the area, judging, raising money for charity, friends visiting wanted to come, education fieldwork. The other in the row for main reason to visit is unspecified)

Predictably local residents (20.5%) and competitors (16.3%) were aware of events and although coach tours accounted for only 0.5% it does provide evidence of tour operators scheduling visits to Highland games. Another noteworthy statistic are the VFR respondents who were unaware of the event prior to attending suggesting their presence at the event was influenced by a socialisation motivator to be with friends or relatives rather than the event itself as proposed by Deery et al., (2004), Gelder and Robinson (2010), Hinch and Higham (2004), Hughes (2000) and Smith and Forest (2009), their presence at the event not of their own volition.

With further investigation into attendance in conjunction with prior knowledge (Table 6.26) a surprising 81.6% respondents indicated that despite being aware of the event before arriving, it was their first visit to Highland games in Scotland.

This finding might be an indication that people are actively seeking out these events since awareness of the events is very high.

Table 6. 26 Cross tabulation between awareness of event and if this is the first event visited in Scotland

Awareness of today's games before visiting	Percentage within first Highland games in Scotland visited (percentage of total)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	81.6	97.3	91.6
No	18.4	2.7	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: author)

The fact that only 2.7% neither knew about the event before arriving on site nor had never been to an event in Scotland suggests no prior intention of attending, and it can be concluded that the event was not the main purpose of their journey. When prior knowledge is compared across individual events Cowal is the only event where 100% of respondents were aware of the event before attending as illustrated in Table 6.27. The other events where prior knowledge was highest were Tomintoul (98.4%), Inverkeithing (98.2%) and Bathgate (97.7%).

Table 6. 27 Cross tabulation of individual event and awareness prior to visiting

	Were you aware of today's games before coming? (percentage within name of Highland games)		
Name of Highland games	Yes	No	Total
Bathgate	97.7	2.3	100.0
Carrick	90.9	9.1	100.0
Lesmahagow	95.4	4.6	100.0
Cupar	89.9	10.1	100.0
Stirling	92.9	7.1	100.0
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	87.9	12.1	100.0
Stonehaven	92.9	7.1	100.0
Tomintoul	98.4	1.6	100.0
Luss	73.0	27.0	100.0
Lochaber	82.0	18.0	100.0
Inverkeithing	98.2	1.8	100.0
Abernethy	83.6	16.4	100.0
Cowal	100.0	0.0	100.0
Braemar	93.1	6.9	100.0
Peebles	92.2	7.8	100.0
Total	91.6	8.4	100.0

(Source: author)

The events most people were unaware of were, in descending order, Luss (27%), Lochaber (18%), Abernethy (16.4%), Balloch (12.1%), Cupar (10.1%) and Carrick (9.1%). Lochaber had the highest attendance of people on holiday (82.1%) and Luss the second highest proportion of holidaymakers with 74.3% which may account for the high proportion of respondents unaware of the event before arriving.

Taking into consideration the lack of national or international promotional activity the findings suggest there is a high level of awareness both domestically and globally of Highland games. Therefore it can be assumed that individuals are actively seeking to attend events as day visitors or as part of a planned holiday. Future figures may be boosted by the recent VisitScotland advert broadcast on 17th July, 2014, however the first Highland games was held in the month of May, two months before the advert was televised.

This is a particularly important finding for these not-for-profit events which may alleviate some concerns by organisers, particularly the smaller events or remote rural locations that do not have large promotional budgets. This may be of some significance in light of the respondents attending an event for the first time. Prior knowledge indicates active searches to find Highland games to attend, particularly for visitors and tourists who are not normally resident in Scotland and have not previously visited an event in Scotland.

6.4.1 Frequency and regularity of event attendance

The majority of respondents were aware of the event before arriving and familiar with events in Scotland therefore the next stage was to map out travel patterns and the movement of people travelling to events. This would provide a better understanding if the events stimulate repeat visits.

When inquiring if it was the first time attending the event of the survey location there was a slight difference when responses were collated with 57.4% indicating it was their first time at that particular event (Table 6.28). A substantial 25.6% expressed attending the event every year revealing that a quarter of all respondents visit the same event on an annual basis. The remaining two categories were visiting sometimes (10.3%) and frequently (6.8%) which reveals substantial difference between individuals attending the events on a regular basis in comparison to those attending less frequently. The fact that so many respondents are attending the same events every year suggests there is some attachment to the event or with the community and destination perhaps as residents, childhood residence or repeat tourists.

Comparing the events individually indicates a few events have a substantial percentage of annual visitors the highest is Cowal (58.3%) followed by Carrick (50%), Lesmahagow (49.2%), Bathgate (41.9%), Inverkeithing (35.5%) and Tomintoul with 29.7%. This annual attendance could be as a result of local patronage, people visiting family and friends or tourists who regularly return to Scotland for a holiday and endeavour to visit the event during their stay. There is also the possibility that Cowal has an increased number of annual visitors due to the extended three day event and the high number of Highland dancers and pipe bands competing at the event.

Table 6. 28 Individual events: How often respondents come to the surveyed event

Name of Highland Games	How often do you come to these games? (percentage and count within Name of Highland games)				
	First time	Sometimes	Frequently	Every year	Total
Bathgate	30.2% (3)	16.3% (7)	11.6% (5)	41.9% (18)	100% (43)
Carrick	31.8% (7)	13.6% (3)	4.5% (1)	50.0% (11)	100% (22)
Lesmahagow	35.4% (23)	6.2% (4)	9.2% (6)	49.2% (32)	100% (65)
Cupar	72.5% (50)	10.1% (7)	2.9% (2)	14.5% (10)	100% (69)
Stirling	68.5% (87)	8.7% (11)	6.3% (8)	16.5% (21)	100% (127)
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	71.4% (65)	6.6% (6)	7.7% (7)	14.3% (13)	100% (91)
Stonehaven	65.5% (74)	5.3% (6)	6.2% (7)	23.0% (26)	100% (113)
Tomintoul	43.8% (28)	15.6% (10)	10.9% (7)	29.7% (19)	100% (64)
Luss	78.4% (58)	6.8% (5)	2.7% (2)	12.2% (9)	100% (74)
Lochaber	79.5% (89)	8.9% (10)	0.0% (0)	11.6% (13)	100% (112)
Inverkeithing	40.9% (45)	16.4% (18)	7.3% (8)	35.5% (39)	100% (110)
Abernethy	77.0% (47)	4.9% (3)	3.3% (2)	14.8% (9)	100% (61)
Cowal	23.6% (34)	7.6% (11)	10.4% (15)	58.3% (84)	100% (144)
Braemar	62.5% (90)	18.1% (26)	11.1% (16)	8.3% (12)	100% (144)
Peebles	58.4% (45)	10.4% (8)	3.9% (3)	27.3% (21)	100% (77)
Total	57.4% (755)	10.3% (135)	6.8% (89)	25.6% (337)	100% (1316)

(Source: author) The numbers in brackets are the number of completed surveys

The events attracting most first time visitors were Lochaber (79.5%), Luss (78.4%) and Abernethy (77%) followed by Stirling (68.5%), Stonehaven (65.5%) and Braemar (62.5%). Except for Stirling and Luss the others are situated in the Highland region of Scotland and may be more influenced by tourist activity, although Stirling and Luss are more easily reached by railway or road as they are closer to the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh that attract high numbers of tourists. As the two major cities in Scotland with international airports with easy access, in 2010 Edinburgh city attracted 3.2 million visitors and Glasgow city visited by 2.3 million (www.visitscotland.org)

When the statistical analysis of Chi-square does not meet the criteria of Chi as illustrated in Table 6.29 it is not possible to establish associations or relationships between individual events and frequency of attendance. In this instance the analysis is invalid because 8 cells (13.3%) have an expected count of less than 5.

Table 6. 29 Chi-square test between individual events individual events and frequency of attendance at surveyed event

Chi-square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	262.606[a]	42	.000
Likelihood Ratio	268.248	42	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.114	1	.736
N of Valid Cases	1316		

a. 8 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.49

(Source: author)

As an exploratory exercise it is interesting that a large number of people appear to be frequently travelling to an event every year although the data is relatively polarised between annual visits and first time visits. However, the findings demonstrate a certain amount of loyalty to events which could be explained through a sense of community (Sharpley and Stone, 2012) and individuals with similar interests (Burt, 2000; Hall, 1999). The suggested affinity some respondents have with Highland games may be evidence of the presence of social capital in response to the fifth objective to explore evidence of social capital at Highland games and may be associated with bonding or bridging capital. To differentiate between visiting a specific named event and visiting

any Highland games in Scotland for the first time, Table 6.30 determines if this is the very first visit to Highland games in Scotland.

To distinguish between individual events a cross tabulation analysis defined the locations where first time visits were occurring and displayed in Table 6.30. The highest percentage of first time visitors were present at Abernethy (54.1%) with Luss and Balloch recording an equal 52.7%, Stirling (44.1%), Braemar (39.6%) and Cupar (39.1%). This is a relatively even geographical spread across the country ranging from the Highlands to Fife and the Central Belt, indicating that first time event goers are not concentrated to a specific geographical location. The biggest anomaly lies with Cowal where there were only 9.7% visiting the event for the first time.

Table 6. 30 Cross tabulation of individual events and if this is the first Highland games visited in Scotland?

	Is this first Highland games visited in Scotland? (percentage within Name of Highland Games)		
Name of Highland Games	Yes	No	Total
Bathgate	20.9	79.1	100.0
Carrick	18.2	81.8	100.0
Lesmahagow	20.0	80.0	100.0
Cupar	39.1	60.9	100.0
Stirling	44.1	55.9	100.0
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	52.7	47.3	100.0
Stonehaven	39.8	60.2	100.0
Tomintoul	21.9	78.1	100.0
Luss	52.7	47.3	100.0
Lochaber	54.5	45.5	100.0
Inverkeithing	26.4	73.6	100.0
Abernethy	54.1	45.9	100.0
Cowal	9.7	90.3	100.0
Braemar	39.6	60.4	100.0
Peebles	32.5	67.5	100.0
Total	36.0	64.0	100.0

(Source: author)

Conversely, the events visited by the most individuals who had been present at another Scottish event was found to be Cowal (90.3%) with the highest ratio

followed by Carrick (81.1%), Lesmahagow (80%), Bathgate (79.1%), Inverkeithing (73.6%) and Peebles (67.5%). Unlike first time visitors, none of these events are based in the Highland region of Scotland suggesting that if people are going to visit a Highland games for the first time their preference is to travel further northwards for what may be considered a more authentic experience, or it could be there is a preference to travel to the more Highland rural landscape than spend time around the more populated Central Belt. Other reasons that could be attributed to determining the regularity of attendance such as weather, accessibility, timing, reputation, level of competition and geographical location may influence travel patterns as proposed by Deery et al., (2004), Gelder and Robinson (2010), Hinch and Highman (2004), Hughes (2000) and Smith and Forest (2009).

6.4.2 Repeat event attendees

It is not surprising that the majority of people travelling to more than one event (34.5%) travel from home (Table 6.31) and the majority of people attending only one event were on holiday (27.7%). Yet the fact that a total of 8.4% visitors are travelling to more than two events indicates travelling around the country.

Table 6. 31 Cross tabulation between the projected number of events to be visited in Scotland in the same year with home or on holiday

Number of games visit in Scotland this year	Home or on holiday (percentage of Totals)				
	Home	Holiday	Working	Other	Total
Only here	17.8	27.7	.5	.8	46.8
2 - 3	16.4	6.6	.3	.6	23.9
4 - 5	5.7	.8	.0	.1	6.6
6 or more	12.4	1.0	.0	.3	13.7
Unsure	5.7	3.0	.2	.2	9.0
Total	58.0	39.1	.9	2.0	100.0

(Source: author)

Considering the number of events throughout the season the majority (46.8%) indicated attendance at a single event (Table 6.31), although a significant 13.7% were planning to visit six or more events. The findings appear to signify there are individuals who routinely visit a number of events each season. This

was evidenced by the author who encountered a group of six people at three different events (personal communication) who divulged they were intending to visit five or six events throughout the summer, which is not unusual as 44.2% indicated intention to visit between two and six events. This figure may be influenced by links with competitors and is a substantial number of people attending multiple events. Repeat visitation has been the focus for a number of studies (e.g. Byrd et al., 2014; de Bres and Davis 2001; Hall, 2005; Grunwell et al., 2008; Kaplanidou and Gibson, 2010; Kruger and Saayman, 2013; Lau and McKercher, 2004; Lee and Kyle, 2013; Light, 1996; Schofield and Thompson, 2007; Shani et al., 2009; Shanka and Taylor, 2004; Snelgrove and Wood, 2010; Timothy, 2011).

The finding supports the theoretical underpinning of accumulation of social capital through bridging capital created at multiple events as part of the Highland games community, sharing similar interests with others in accordance with Burt (2000), Coleman (1988), Halpern (2005) and Roberts (2004). This is a particularly important finding demonstrating implicitly that there is a core sector travelling to Highland games across Scotland by residents and tourists determining evidence of travel and repeat visitation. Repeat visitation may be associated with renewing friendships and acquaintances with friends or relatives (Byrd et al., 2014; Hall, 2005; Law and McKercher, 2008; Liang et al., 2008; McCall Smith, 2013; Pegg and Patterson, 2010; Schneider and Backman, 1996; Schofield and Thompson, 2007; Lau and McKercher, 2004) or emotional attachment to place (Lee and Kyle, 2013; Timothy, 2011). As well as evidence of some form of tourism taking place the emotional attachment to place and renewing friendships signifies evidence of social capital and may be bonding social capital (Putman, 1993) in relation to family or bridging social capital in terms of geographical distance (Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1988)

The interest in repeat travel is exemplified by VisitScotland's 2011-2012 visitor survey which found that 50% of overseas visitors stated they would return to Scotland within the next five years (VisitScotland) which provides valuable data that may be associated with event visitation.

6.4.3 Country of origin and frequency of visits

To determine the ratio of domestic travellers and international tourists the respondents were separated into respondents based in Scotland, the UK and international visitors. Table 6.32 indicates that 90% of international visitors are visiting an event for the first time drawing attention to the fact that the source of repeat visitors is generated from within the UK rather than the 2.7% overseas visitors travelling to the same event on an annual basis. However, the 10% of international visitors and 20.6% of UK visitors who return to the event more than once suggests that repeat tourists are returning to the same area of Scotland visiting the same event during their stay demonstrating loyalty to a particular event as proposed by Getz (2013).

Table 6. 32 Cross tabulation of how often do you visit these games with Scotland, UK and International visitors

		Scotland UK and International			
How often do you visit these games?		Scotland	UK	International	Total
First time	Count	285	173	297	755
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	37.1%	79.4%	90.0%	57.4%
	% of Total	21.7%	13.1%	22.6%	57.4%
Sometimes	Count	101	14	20	135
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	13.2%	6.4%	6.1%	10.3%
	% of Total	7.7%	1.1%	1.5%	10.3%
Frequently	Count	76	9	4	89
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	9.9%	4.1%	1.2%	6.8%
	% of Total	5.8%	0.7%	0.3%	6.8%
Every year	Count	306	22	9	337
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	39.8%	10.1%	2.7%	25.6%
	% of Total	23.3%	1.7%	0.7%	25.6%
Total	Count	768	218	330	1316
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	58.4%	16.6%	25.1%	100.0%

(Source: author)

Concluding that international visitors, who can be assumed to be tourists are returning to the same event multiple times may determine the event's ability to contribute to tourism numbers by encouraging people to spend more time in

Scotland as proposed by Holloway, Humphreys and Davidson (2009). The events may bring increasing numbers of visitors to an area which is evidence of the ability of events to attract tourists, an indication that some events can be described as tourist attractions according to the definition of Crompton and Mckay (1997), Gursoy et al., (2003) and McKercher et al., (2006). These findings suggest that although the primary motivator to attend events is unknown, the 90% of international visitors and 79.4% of UK visitors that are visiting that specific event for the first time is significant. The events may be the pull factor motivating visitors to travel to the destination. The repeat visits by international tourists are likely to include overnight stays therefore contributing to event tourism in Scotland which partly answers the second objective.

A Chi-square test was used to investigate if there was a relationship between the frequency of event attendance and visitation by Scotland, UK and international visitors. The statistical significance of the connection between the variables is illustrated in Table 6.33 where $\chi 2$ (6) = 326.78, $p < .05$. This signifies there is a relationship between frequency of visit and Scotland, UK and international visitors.

Table 6. 33 Chi-square association between frequency of attendance and Scotland, UK or international visitor

Chi-square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	326.782[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	371.881	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	287.341	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1316		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.74

(Source: author)

The strength of association is revealed by Cramer's V test (Table 6.34) suggesting the strength of the relationship is moderate (= .498) between the variables of frequency of attending events in Scotland with Scotland, UK and international visitors.

Table 6. 34 Cramer's V level of association between frequency of attendance and Scotland, UK or international visitor

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.498	.000
	Cramer's V	.352	.000
N of Valid Cases		1316	

(Source: author)

It is useful to map the grouped nationalities travelling to events to understand the breadth of appeal, but there are also games staged outside Scotland which spectators may also attend.

6.4.3.1 Visiting events outside Scotland

Highland games do not only take place in Scotland but in numerous countries around the world, particularly in areas where Scottish migrants have settled such as North America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Brander, 1992; Davidson, 2009; Redmond, 1982; Webster, 2011). Where ex-pats and local residents have the opportunity to come together and share a small part of the culture and traditions of Scotland. There are significant numbers of overseas tourists visiting Highland games whilst holidaying in Scotland which is reciprocated to some extent by visitation to events outside Scotland. Table 6.35 indicates a positive insight to travelling to events located beyond Scotland by UK residents.

Table 6. 35 Origin of respondents travelling outside Scotland

Will visit games outside Scotland this year	Percentage with Scotland, UK and International			
	Scotland	UK	International	Total
Yes	4.9	1.4	14.8	6.8
No	91.0	89.9	71.8	86.0
Unsure	4.0	8.7	13.3	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: author)

There is some reciprocity in the movement between Scottish based and internationally based events since Table 6.35 indicates that Scottish based respondents are travelling to overseas games. This may contribute to the creation of social capital based on shared interests and operating within similar networks (Coleman, 1988) where networks may span vast geographical distances (Halpern, 2005). It also indicates associations with the second objective related to event tourism albeit that tourism is external to Scotland.

In order to delineate the travel movements of the audience, visiting events outside Scotland was explored with main reason for attending the results illustrated in Table 6.36. It is interesting that local residents are least likely to venture to events outside Scotland whereas unsurprisingly, respondents associated with competitors are most likely to travel overseas. In some respects the movement of competitors is crucial to event content being an integral part of Highland games.

Further analysis suggests the category most likely to travel to events outside Scotland is competitors (27.3%) along with those who were accompanying competitors (12.9%). Competitors travelling to compete in a Highland games circuit within Scotland and overseas is well documented and has been a core activity around the events from early records (see Burnett, 2000; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Davidson, 2009; Macdonell, 1937; McCombie-Smith, 1892; Webster, 2011).

Table 6. 36 Cross tabulation of main reason for attendance at this event and visiting events outside Scotland

	Will visit games outside Scotland this year (percentage within Attendance)			
	Yes	No	Unsure	Total
Live locally	1.1	94.8	4.1	100.0
Holiday/pleasure	5.9	84.7	9.3	100.0
Visiting friends and relatives	4.2	86.6	9.2	100.0
Member of party competing	12.9	84.3	2.8	100.0
Coach tour	0.0	75.0	25.0	100.0
Business/work	19.0	81.0	0.0	100.0
Competing	27.3	60.6	12.1	100.0
Other	42.9	57.1	0.0	100.0
Total	6.8	86.0	7.1	100.0

(Source: author)

(The "other*" in the row category includes: looking for a house in the area, judging, raising money for charity, friends visiting wanted to come, education fieldwork.

Respondents in the area on business or working (19%) indicated they would also be attending events outside Scotland, 5.9% whilst on holiday and 4.2% whilst visiting friends and relatives residing overseas. The findings appear to indicate active participation and movement between events not only in Scotland but also further afield.

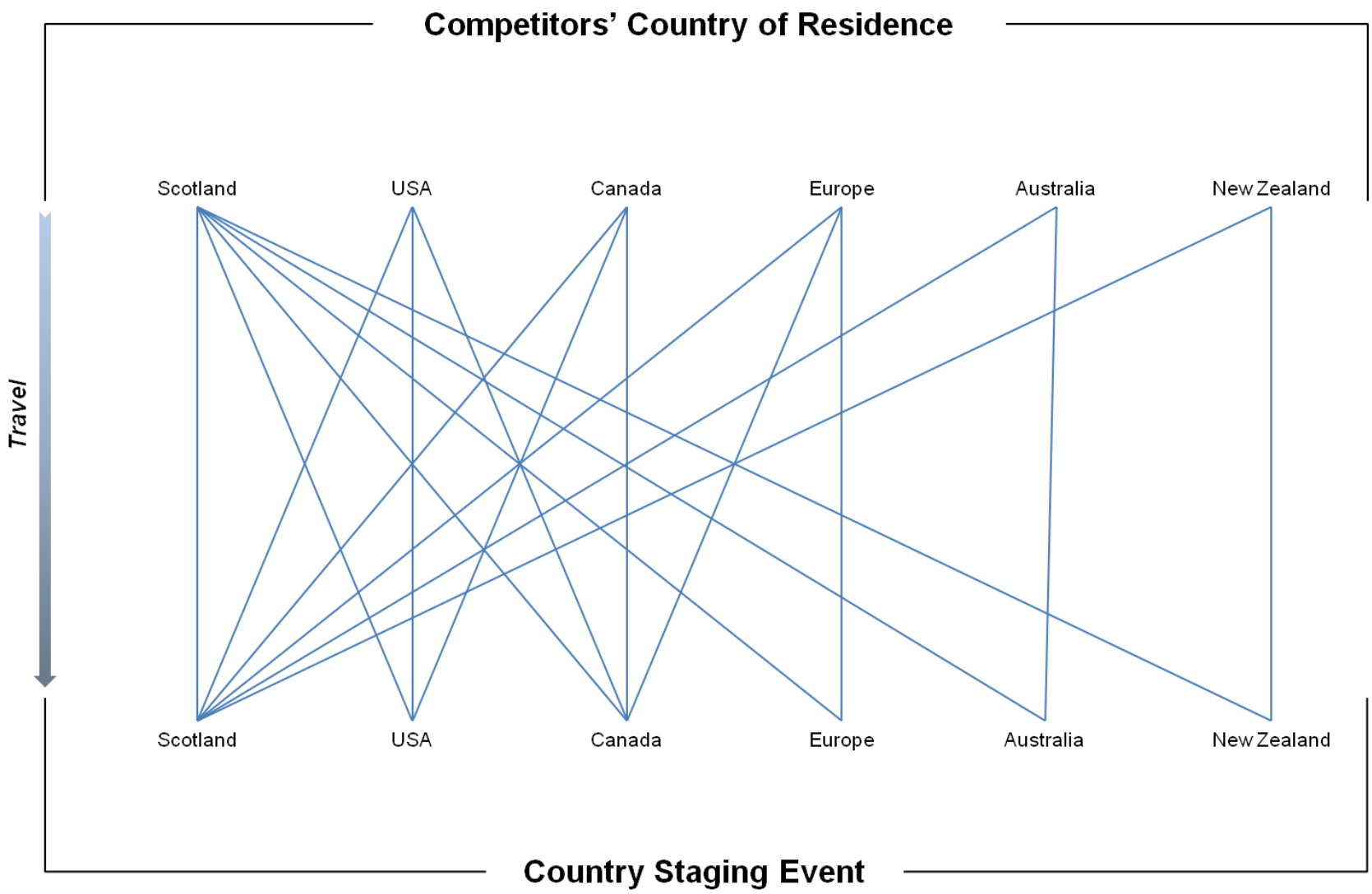
There has been limited research conducted on travel patterns to and from events even although the movement of competitors between events is crucial for competitive content and entertainment appeal (see Section 2.3). There may be negative consequences if there are not sufficient competitors to compete as experienced by Airth Highland Games when the event had to be cancelled due to a lack of competitors (Airth, 1984), signifying the central role competitors have at the events. However, the presence of élite athletes is not guaranteed to increase attendance figures according to Higham and Hinch (2005) and McKercher et al., (2006) also (see Section 7.1.2). Historically élite athletes choose to compete at events which offer high financial rewards for success and are often invited to events to compete for a performance fee (personal communication).

Whatever the reasons may be the results indicate movement between countries by competitors and accompanying parties. The extent of travel is illustrated in Figure 6.9 which distinguishes the origins of the respondents involved in competition either as a competitor or part of the accompanying group. This segment originated from six countries most likely to travel to events outside Scotland. The Europe category includes all Europe based respondents resident outside Scotland including the rest of the UK.

The residents of Scotland are most likely to travel overseas competing across Europe, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand with the remaining designated countries travelling to fewer destinations. USA and Canada respondents restrict travelling to USA, Canada and Scotland although there are more travellers to Canada than USA from other respondents. There was more movement around the European circuit with residents from the Netherlands, Belgium, Scotland, England, Eire and Austria most likely to be present at events outside Scotland travelling to events in Northern Ireland, Belgium, England, Spain, Austria, France and the Netherlands.

In the southern hemisphere most events are staged in Australia and New Zealand with respondents indicating travel is limited to these two countries and Scotland. Whereas in the northern hemisphere there is increased travelling between Europe, Canada and the USA. Scotland emerged as the only country in the northern hemisphere where competitors travelled to Australia and New Zealand. The motivation to compete is likely to stimulate travel to other countries and plays a significant role in event tourism when associated with international competitors and the second objective. The commonality and association linked to competitors and their travelling companions substantiates evidence of bridging social capital through shared interest proposed by Halpern (2005) across geographical distances (Bourdieu, 1985; Portes, 1998). The findings also suggest evidence of event tourism in relation to the second objective.

Figure 6. 9 Competitors' normal country of residence and travel to international competition (Source: author)



6.4.4 Travel to the event

Events staged across Scotland are diverse in terms of geographical location and content and may determine travel patterns of event visitors. It is notable that within the respondents the ease of travel to an event was the highest priority for UK respondents (66.8%), whereas 65.2% of the Scottish respondents implied that ease of travel was important with the least proportion represented by international tourists (58%) illustrated in Table 6.37. There is not much variation between the three groups. As least important to the international travellers this may be an indication of willingness to travel when there are time restrictions imposed by limited holiday duration. For international tourists with limited time in the country, the journey to the event through changing landscapes may be part of the overall event experience. UK residents (including the Scots) have more opportunity to attend events throughout the summer having more choice to travel to a location closer to home.

Table 6. 37 The importance of easy travelling to events by Scotland, UK and International visitors

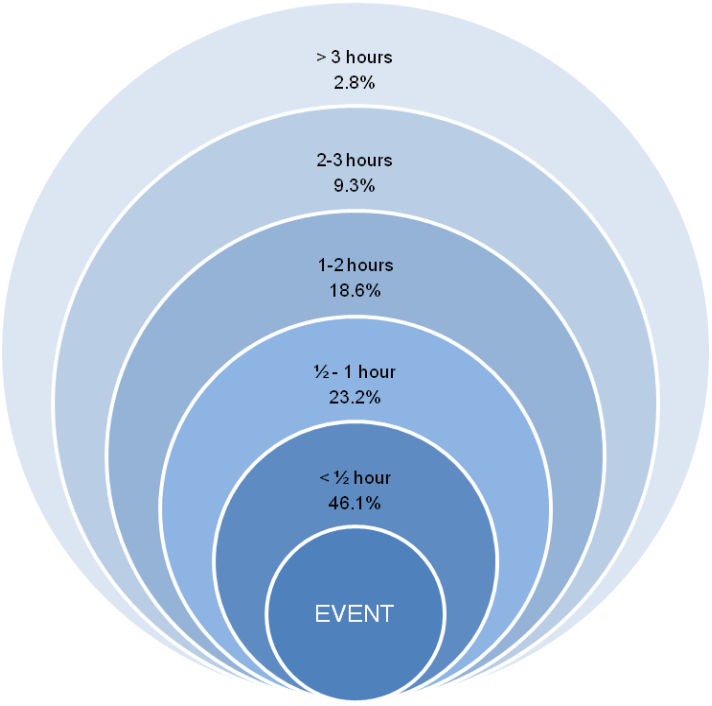
	Percentage within Scotland UK and International			
Easy travelling	Scotland	UK	International	Total
Important	65.2	66.8	58.0	63.6
No opinion	13.2	12.5	17.0	14.0
Not important	21.6	20.7	25.0	22.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Source: author)

The first question in the survey asked the respondents where they had travelled from on the day of the event. It was not possible to estimate travelling time using post codes as preferred by Liang et al., (2008) or employing mobile positioning technology (Nilbe et al., 2014). Therefore in order to calculate average travelling time a proxy variable was used to measure travelling time based on point of departure. The length of journey was calculated presuming non-stop travel, to establish approximate journey times to the events, which can be an influencing factor in the decision making process (Higham and Hinch, 2006).

The majority (46.1%) of attendees spent less than half an hour travelling to reach their destination. Unsurprisingly there was a direct correlation between the distance travelled and the number of people travelling. As the distance increased from point of travel, fewer people were making the journey, with only 2.8% travelling for more than three hours in accordance with the distance decay model advocated by Boniface and Cooper (1994).

Figure 6. 10 Travelling time to event calculated by AA route planner from origin of travel



(Source: author)

Table 6.38 illustrates the individual events and travel time. A prestigious event that attracts élite athletes and its geographical location may influence travel decisions. The two largest events, Cowal and Braemar do not provide the easiest travel options since the Cowal event is set in the town of Dunoon, located at the end of the Cowal Peninsula and is most easily reached by a 20 minute ferry ride to avoid a long road journey. Whereas Braemar is situated in a remote rural Highland region of Scotland and both these events attract the greatest percentage of long distance travellers (9.7%) (Table 6.38), (see also Figure 6.4 for location classification). This could be in some part due to the level of competition over three days at Cowal or the patronage of British

monarchy at Braemar, although this cannot be accurately determined in this research.

It is noteworthy that eight events did not record respondents travelling for more than three hours and of equal importance seven events (2.8%) recorded journeys of more than three hours which is evidence of a small minority making substantial journeys to reach the events. Further evidence is provided by the two to three hours category where Braemar had a substantial margin over the other events with 42.4% travelling two to three hours and could be strongly linked with the remote rural classification (www.scotland.gov.uk) and geographical location of the event (see Figure 6.4). Even small and medium remote towns attract long distance travellers such as Tomintoul, represented by 17.2% and 13.4% at Lochaber, Fort William travelled between two and three hours.

The anomaly is Cupar located in Fife which recorded the fourth highest proportion of long distance travellers (10.1%), an easily accessible town not far distant from large populated areas, whereas Cowal (6.3%) does require more effort to reach. There is no distinct travel patterns emerging in relation to distance travelled which is a favourable outcome for some of the more remote locations, as the findings suggest that some people are willing to travel substantial distances to reach events. The findings support the fifth objective since there is evidence of bridging social capital as people move to geographically distant events (Putman, 1993).

Table 6. 38 Cross tabulation of individual events and travel time

	Percentage travelling time to the Games					
Name of Highland games	Less than half an hour	1/2 - 1 - hour	1 - 2 hours	2 - 3 hours	More than 3 hours	Total
Bathgate	67.4	32.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Carrick	36.4	40.9	22.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Lesmahagow	76.9	13.8	4.6	4.6	0.0	100.0
Cupar	56.5	11.6	17.4	10.1	4.3	100.0
Stirling	43.3	40.9	13.4	2.4	0.0	100.0
Balloch (Loch Lomond)	50.5	28.6	20.9	0.0	0.0	100.0
Stonehaven	66.4	15.0	13.3	4.4	0.9	100.0
Tomintoul	35.9	0.0	42.2	17.2	4.7	100.0
Luss	47.3	32.4	17.6	1.4	1.4	100.0
Lochaber	57.1	25.9	2.7	13.4	0.9	100.0
Inverkeithing	60.9	27.3	9.1	2.7	0.0	100.0
Abernethy	44.3	27.9	23.0	4.9	0.0	100.0
Cowal	27.8	22.9	33.3	6.3	9.7	100.0
Braemar	16.7	9.7	21.5	42.4	9.7	100.0
Peebles	32.5	29.9	36.4	1.3	0.0	100.0
Total	46.1	23.2	18.6	9.3	2.8	100.0

(Source: author)

Another key factor which may not dissuade individuals travelling long distances could be the appeal of the remoteness of the event, particularly journeys that require travelling through some of Scotland's rugged and picturesque landscapes, where the journey itself could be part of the appeal of reaching remoter destinations. There are a number of authors such as Boniface and Cooper (1994), Burton (1995), Krippendorf (1986), Rooney and Pillsbury (1992) and Deery et al., (2005) who acknowledge the importance of the location and attractiveness of a place and landscape, where, in some cases, it may be the attractiveness of the region that is the primary reason for the journey rather than the event (Deery et al., 2005).

The pursuit of understanding travel patterns can be explored further by evaluating the main reason people were at the event and journey time. It is unsurprising that competitors (48.6%) and holidaymakers are the two categories that appear to be willing to travel the furthest, visiting friends and relatives accounted for 8.1% and coach tours 2.7%. The event could be the catalyst for bringing social groups together as proposed by Wilks (2012) where social capital may emerge as bonding capital by the VFR category that may use the event to meet and socialise.

These figures are significant in relation to understanding the willingness of individuals to travel considerable distances to reach events. Overall it is the tourists who are travelling the furthest suggesting that holidaymakers are making deliberate choices to visit Highland games within a restricted holiday time frame. Residents in Scotland have more opportunity to visit a local event by choosing to travel to an event in the vicinity of their residence thereby avoiding long distance travel. Understanding travel patterns may have implications for surrounding areas, particularly where a small rural community hosts a very large event. There may be increased social and economic implications for rural areas when significant numbers of tourists arrive for events.

There is a certain similarity and familiarity surrounding these events regardless where they are staged, as the core content encompassing heavy and light athletics, Highland dancing and Pipe Bands remains unchanged. Some of these key activities may be the main influencing factor when decisions are made to

attend, therefore the next section explores the appeal of key elements associated with the events.

6.5 Athletics, dancing and music: the appealing content of Highland games

It cannot be presupposed that tourists and visitors arriving at a community event will automatically lead to building some form of social capital unless they are considered to have similar shared interests as proposed by Taylor (2011). However, there are many different facets of the events which may lead to some individuals present for one specific activity such as Highland dancing, and may not interact with others outside the Highland dancing community.

Highland games are unique in content combining a variety of sporting activities alongside dance, and music that has strong cultural connotations. The content and competition is so varied that to develop an understanding of the appeal of individual events some key themes and competitive activities were explored. Employing univariate and bivariate tests on the variables help to detect the most popular elements which include tangible and intangible aspects of the events.

Some factors that are likely to have varying levels of importance for the spectators are displayed in a ranking 5 point Likert scale to assess the importance of elements associated with the events ranging from very important (1) to not really important (5). Illustrated in Table 6.39 the most significant factor was to experience culture and tradition with 19.6% indicating this was very or quite important. This precedes the ability to watch a variety of sports (17.6%) then ease of travel (14.6%) with scenery and landscape (14.1%) the fourth most important element. The least important element is admission fees. There are no significant variances between these variables although the findings highlight the importance placed on cultural themes and athletic content and draw attention to the importance of landscape and scenery even although some events are held within urban environments.

Table 6. 39 The importance of variables when deciding to visit Highland games

Show import	Responses N	Responses Percent	Percent of Cases
Experience	680	12.3	54.1
Landscape	775	14.1	61.6
Admission	538	9.8	42.8
Culture and tradition	1078	19.6	85.7
Variety of sports	969	17.6	77.0
Easy travelling	806	14.6	64.1
Socialising	662	12.0	52.6
Total	5508	100.0	437.8

a. Dichotomy group tabulated at value 1

(Source: author)

Attractive landscapes and the appeal of place can be a motivating factor in leisure and tourism activities where the desire for picturesque landscapes attracts visitors and tourists (Boniface and Cooper, 1994; Burton, 1995; Crouch, 2000; Krippendorf, 1986; Gelder and Robinson, 2010). Although the findings in this instance may not be decisive, it is perhaps surprising that it is the UK travellers rather than the international travellers that find the Scottish landscape most appealing (see Table 6.41).

To determine if urban or rural location influences the appeal of landscape when the variables of rural classification and importance of landscape are cross tabulated the findings suggest more importance is associated with rural areas than events located in an urban location (Table 6.40). The respondents that selected the most important categories indicated that accessible rural locations (73.6%) were most important, preceding remote rural areas where 69.1% respondents classed landscape as important. The two least important locations associated with landscape are accessible small towns (54.3%) and other urban areas (59%).

Table 6. 40 Cross tabulation of urban rural classification and the importance of landscape

Cross tabulation of urban rural classification and importance of landscape	Landscape			
	Important	No opinion	Not important	Total
Other urban areas	151	44	61	256
	59.0%	17.2%	23.8%	100.0%
Accessible small towns	228	66	126	420
	54.3%	15.7%	30.0%	100.0%
Remote small towns	162	46	60	268
	60.4%	17.2%	22.4%	100.0%
Accessible rural	53	14	5	72
	73.6%	19.4%	6.9%	100.0%
Remote rural	181	33	48	262
	69.1%	12.6%	18.3%	100.0%
Total	775	203	300	1278
	60.6%	15.9%	23.5%	100.0%

(Source: author)

Separating key elements to apportion a level of importance provides an insight into the key characteristics that may influence travel. Admittedly there is very little that organisers can do to influence the landscape or ease of travelling although an element that can be controlled such as admission fees is regarded as the least important.

As a key theme of Highland games, associations between culture and nationality were explored, to provide a better understanding of the significance of cultural attributes where similarities and dissimilarities may be identified. There were a greater number of surveys collected from Scottish based respondents therefore in order to compare results, the findings in Table 6.41 represent a synopsis of the percentages within the three categories of Scotland, UK and international. The UK respondents placed most importance on culture (91.5%) followed by international tourists (89.9%), and responses ascertained from Scottish residents was the lowest (80.9%). All three mirrored the top two categories with being able to watch a variety of sports the second highest most important element with the UK achieving 84.4%, International (77.9%) and Scotland (72.9%).

Table 6. 41 Comparison of key elements with Scotland, UK and international

Most important	Scotland	UK	International
Culture and tradition	80.2%	91.5%	89.9%
Variety of sports	72.9%	84.4%	77.9%
Easy travelling	65.2%	66.8%	58%
Experience	64.1%	46.6%	36.7%
Socialising	62.4%	38.8%	39.3%
Landscape	56.1%	68.5%	65.7%
Admission cost	47.0%	42.6%	34.2%

(Source: author)

The top third category for the Scottish respondents was ease of travelling to the event (65.2%) followed very closely by previous experience (64.1%) and socialising (62.4%). The significance of socialising is more important to the Scots and may be a reflection of the sense of community and the movement of people returning home to their roots (Gibson, 1998) to be part of a social group, building social capital as proposed by Halpern (2005), Burt (2000) and Giddens and Sutton (2009). Elements of social capital may be stronger within small villages with strong social networks and this search for socialisation by Scottish based respondents may be a reflection of the sense of community found at Highland games where groups can enjoy a social experience as proposed by Jarvie (2003) and Wilks (2012). This findings confirm previous research by Morgan (2006) highlighting the importance of socialising as a motive to attend events.

The least important factor for all groups was the admission costs perhaps denoting value for money or attending the event itself was more important than cost implications.

6.5.1.1 The importance of socialising

For some individuals the importance of the social experience may be attributed to people returning to familiar communities and existing familial relations (Fairley and Gammon, 2005) where acquaintances and old friends, groups and individuals come together to enjoy the social occasion (Jarvie, 2003; Wilks, 2012).

Whilst socialising was not prominent in contributing to the overall general experience it is useful to note that individuals living locally generated a substantial 67.6% important responses (Table 6.42) followed by those visiting friends and relatives (64.4%) in response to the opportunity to socialise. A sense of community may be the driving influence in generating social capital throughout a community as advocated by Halpern (2005) epitomizing the formation of social cohesion within the community environment, as individuals and groups are re-acquainted (Wilks, 2012). In decreasing levels of importance the remaining variables were member of party competing (60.2%), competing (60%), working in the area (57.1%), coach tour (50%) and those on holiday signifying the least importance accounting for 41.2%. The findings may be an indication that respondents with closer connections to the area or have ties to the community are seeking stronger social interaction whereas visitors to the area are more influenced by the content of the event.

Table 6. 42 Cross tabulation of main reason for attendance and the importance of socialising

	Socialising (% within Attendance)			
Attendance	Important	No opinion	Not important	Total
Live locally	67.6%	14.6%	17.8%	100.0%
Holiday/pleasure	41.2%	22.1%	36.7%	100.0%
Visiting friends and relatives	64.4%	15.3%	20.3%	100.0%
Member of party competing	60.2%	21.4%	18.4%	100.0%
Coach tour	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Business/work	57.1%	9.5%	33.3%	100.0%
Competing	60.0%	16.7%	23.3%	100.0%
Other	42.9%	14.3%	42.9%	100.0%
Total	52.6%	19.5%	27.9%	100.0%

(Source: author)

(The "other*" in the row category includes: looking for a house in the area, judging, raising money for charity, friends visiting wanted to come, education fieldwork

From this data it appears that the social aspect is more important to Scottish residents, in particular those residents living geographically close to where the event is staged.

The previous discussion draws attention to some of the virtues of Highland games by highlighting intangible, critical aspects of the events alongside individual components. It may be ascertained that this arena has the ability to create social capital within an individual event through bonding social capital and across multiple events by bridging social capital; in the sense that the majority of people indicate attending these events to enjoy or be part of the tradition and culture of the Highlands of Scotland which brings together a common theme of interest required by social capital theory.

6.5.1.2 The appeal of watching a variety of sports

A sporting theme is central to Highland games and after tradition and culture was the most important element for all respondents. Table 6.43 illustrates the sports element of Highland games is a very important feature with 76.1% choosing important of very important.

Table 6. 43 The appeal of watching a variety of sports

Valid	Number of Cases	Valid Percent
Important	969	76.1
No opinion	141	11.1
Not important	163	12.8
Total	1273	100.0
Missing System	43	
Total	1316	

(Source: author)

There could be some ambiguity with this response as within this research scope Highland dancing is classed as a sporting activity although some respondents may choose tradition and culture as a more fitting classification for Highland dancing. Along with the musician contestants and for some dances, Highland dancers must wear the formal tartan attire which is visual culture on display even before the competition begins. Table 6.44 presents a cross tabulation of Scotland, UK and international visitors with importance of watching a variety of sports. The results indicate that watching a variety of sports is most important for respondents from the UK (84.4%), followed by international visitors (77.9%) and finally Scotland (72.9%).

Table 6. 44 Cross tabulation of the appeal of watching a variety of sports with Scotland, UK and International visitors

		Scotland UK and International			
		Scotland	UK	Inter-national	Total
Important	Count	536	179	254	969
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	72.9%	84.4%	77.9%	76.1%
	% of Total	42.1%	14.1%	20.0%	76.1%
No opinion	Count	93	16	32	141
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	12.7%	7.5%	9.8%	11.1%
	% of Total	7.3%	1.3%	2.5%	11.1%
Not important	Count	106	17	40	163
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	14.4%	8.0%	12.3%	12.8%
	% of Total	8.3%	1.3%	3.1%	12.8%
Total	Count	735	212	326	1273
	% within Scotland UK and ROW	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	57.7%	16.7%	25.6%	100.0%

(Source: author)

To determine if there was an association between Scotland, UK and international visitors with the appeal of watching a variety of sports Pearson Chi-square test was applied. With a statistical significance of (χ^2 (4) = 12.92, p< .05) illustrated in Table 6.45 there appears to be evidence of a relationship between watching a variety of sports and Scotland, UK and international visitors.

Table 6. 45 Chi-Square relationship between Scotland, UK and international visitors and appeal of watching a variety of sports

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.916[a]	4	0.012
Likelihood Ratio	13.640	4	0.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.062	1	0.044
N of Valid Cases	1273		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.48

(Source: author)

Conducting a further analysis to determine the strength of the association, Cramer's V test had a significance of = .101 indicating a weak relationship between Scotland, UK and international visitors and the importance and appeal of watching a variety of sports at Highland games. Which suggests that whether respondents are from Scotland, UK or from overseas there is a minimal relationship to the appeal of watching a variety of sports?

Table 6. 46 Cramer's V level of association between normal country of residence and appeal of watching a variety of sports

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.101	.012
	Cramer's V	.071	.012
N of Valid Cases		1273	

(Source: author)

The preference and importance of watching a number of sporting competition was explored further (Table 6.47) to identify comparisons between nationalities of respondents and age the 35-44 age group were most interested in the sporting element (24.8%), followed by the over 55s (23.3%), 45-54 (21.7%), 25-34 (17.2%) and the least interested emanating from the 16-24 age group. The findings appear to suggest a general liking for the sporting content over all age groups.

Table 6. 47 Cross tabulation - watching a variety of sports by age

Age group of respondents	% within Scotland, UK and International			
	Scotland	UK	International	Total
16-24	13.4%	4.1%	18.5%	13.1%
25-34	13.7%	14.2%	27.3%	17.2%
35-44	29.8%	17.4%	17.9%	24.8%
45-54	21.7%	28.0%	17.3%	21.7%
55+	21.4%	36.2%	19.1%	23.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Source: author)

The relationship between age and Highland games is important and significant to these events particularly when attempting to engage younger members and encourage them on the organising committees (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2 for further discussion).

6.5.1.3 Elements of Highland games that generate the most interest

The competitive activities of Highland games are mainly athletics and other sporting activity, dance, bagpipe music and other elements that combine to produce a unique event distinguished from other types of events, and reflect their historical origins (see Chapter 2). The individual characteristics are explored to determine the most appealing and favourite activities within a Highland games event.

From a choice of fourteen key elements respondents ranked four favourite activities from one to four with number one the highest ranking, descending to number four as the least ranked (Table 6.48). The most favoured activities were piping (35.9%), heavy events (28.9%), Highland dancing (15.5%), experiencing culture and tradition a much reduced (4.5%) followed by light track and field events (4.1%). The top three choices are indicative of Highland games, considered by many to be the core activities that define Highland games and distinguishes them from other cultural or sporting events. Pipers generally wear full Highland dress when competing; some dances require the competitors to wear formal dress and the heavy event competitors must wear a kilt, although worn casually rather than as formal attire. Images from these three categories are most often seen in promotional literature for Highland

games or indeed, are often used to promote Scotland. Evidence of the use of kilts to represent Scotland was on display at the Commonwealth Games held in Glasgow in July 2014, when the male athletics team wore a kilt as part of the uniform for the opening ceremony (BBC, Commonwealth Games opening ceremony, 2014). The remaining options represented a very small percentage of all the respondents. It is interesting that Davidson (2009) suggests heavy events are the centrepiece of Highland games, and although very popular, this data finds a preference for bagpipe music. It is notable that when given a cultural option, which features very highly as a descriptive theme for the events that alongside a set of alternative options the cultural aspect is very much reduced.

Table 6. 48 Top four ranking elements of Highland games

Top Four Attractions	Percent
Piping	35.9
Heavy events	28.9
Highland dancing	15.5
Athletics light track/field events	4.0
Meet people/socialising	2.1
Drinks/beer tent	1.5
Trade stands/shops	0.7
Cycling	1.0
Tug o' war	2.8
Championship event taking place	0.9
Competing	0.8
Novelty races/events	0.8
Wrestling	0.6
Tradition/heritage/culture	4.5
Other	0.1
Total	100.0

(Source: author)

In earlier events Leslie (1882) proposed that Highland dancing was a minor part of the event while McCombie Smith (1887) proclaimed that Highland dancing was the least important of all events to athletes, although conceded that it is likely to be an attractive spectacle for audiences. It appears that since the

events of the late 1800s Highland dancing has grown in popularity according to the findings of this research.

The figures have to be taken in context as the top five are core elements of Highland games and found at all events whereas tug-o'-war is not always part of event competition and some of the other activities are not so prevalent or present on a small scale such as backhold wrestling and cycling. Likewise field athletics which comprise track and field events and hill races are in greater evidence at some events than others. Some events may only have a few track races and the inclusion of high jump, long jump and other forms of light athletics can vary greatly across the events, for example Cupar recorded the highest ratio for cycling (4.3%) whereas the tug-o'-war had the highest profile at Braemar (8.4%), Stonehaven (7.1%) and Luss (6.8%). Some activities had no responses such as for light track and field events at Lochaber, Peebles or Carrick which is most likely related to the level of specific competition at individual events; Carrick also had no responses for culture and tradition. This does not necessarily equate with particular activities absent from any particular events.

Thus, whilst the figures can provide some indication of the appeal of the activities taking place, to gather more accurate detailed information it would be necessary to identify which activities were present and at what level at individual events. Evidence of competitors completing the survey may be found in the interest given to competing and Championship events linking back to the popularity of the sporting aspect of the event.

6.6 Chapter Summary

The discussion in this chapter is based on a single survey conducted at fifteen different Highland games and provides an insight into the behaviour, perceptions and characteristics of spectators to enable a greater understanding of event audiences. The aim of this chapter was to explore the appeal of the events from the perspective of the audience. The importance of understanding the formation of social groups, the origin of respondents and familiarity the audience has with the events forms an understanding of the different groups and social interaction that is occurring. Understanding travel patterns and

appealing elements confirms the importance of the core concepts and content related to the cultural theme and sporting content.

This chapter contributes to three objectives. Objective two set out to investigate if Highland games were contributing to event tourism. Event tourism activity was found present at the events by the presence of international and UK travellers alongside domestic tourists. However, the primary reason for travelling has not been determined. The VFR findings were of particular interest due to the difficulty in capturing data from this segment of travellers (Page and Connell, 2012).

The fourth objective related to socio-demographic characteristics of the spectators which found a very heterogeneous group present. Not only were members of the audience from different countries, they covered all age groups over 16 and included all social classifications. The diverse nature of the audiences reflects the broad appeal of the events and ability to cross cultural and social diversity.

The fifth objective was to explore the Highland games environment for evidence of social capital. Social capital in the form of bonding capital and bridging capital appeared to emerge most notably within the local resident, VFR and competitor groups, as evidenced by the importance of socialisation for local residents and VFRs which is an important generator of socio-cultural capital (Roberts, 2004). The local residents that supported the events are supporting the community through shared interests and by doing so are building bridging capital by bringing people together as proposed by Halpern (2005) and Seippel (2006). In addition the presence of support groups accompanying competitors indicates a level of social capital within the accompanying group dynamic, and fits with social capital creation through the norms of understanding competition regulations (Uslaner, 1999) and shared interests. Whereas the variation of social classifications and cultural backgrounds present at events suggests bridging capital as groups and individuals come together through the shared interest of Highland games (Burt, 2000; Halpern 2005; Seippel, 2006; Torche and Valanzuela, 2011). As proposed by Putman (1995) and Wilks (2012) crossing all social classifications is an important factor for community well-being (Sharpley and Stone, 2012).

Travel patterns were explored as frequency of event attendance was expanded across multiple events where it was found that spectators and competitors were travelling to multiple events in one season. Considering the limited promotional opportunities of community based not-for-profit events there were surprising numbers of spectators who had previously visited other events as well as a considerable proportion who were attending an event for the first time.

This chapter presented the findings from surveys completed by audience members at events. The next Chapter presents the findings of in-depth interviews conducted with experts and event organisers to gain further insights of the Highland games.

7 The organisers' perspective: in-depth interviews

As outlined in Chapter 4, three distinct sets of data were collected, two with the organisers and experts and one with event spectators. The first phase collected data pertaining to the extent and structure of Highland games and was addressed in Chapter 5. This chapter analyses the third phase of data collected from individuals on organising committees and others considered to have expert knowledge of Highland games.

The chapter discusses key findings from 16 in-depth interviews and collectively, the findings correspond to the third objective to explore the internal and external challenges that relate to individual and collective issues dealt with by the organisers of Highland games. The discussion around the activities of the overseas competitors reveals findings that contribute towards the second objective when searching for connections with event tourism. It is surmised that some form of social capital will be established which in some part answers the fifth objective to determine if Highland games contribute to building social capital. Especially since the respondents have an attachment to individual events in some form of organising or other official capacity that is connected with association memberships, network creation, organisation and participation (Halpern, 2005).

The interviewees were encouraged to share knowledge and expertise from their own perspective as the interviews followed a loose topic format advocated by Spencer et al., (2009). Following an informal arrangement, the personal feelings and attitudes (Gray, 2009) of interviewees were expressed imparting a rich stream of knowledge to provide a deeper understanding of the events from a management and organisational perspective. The interviews were analysed manually following a thematic framework process to identify key themes (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002; Strivastava et al., (2009) which included a discussion around the organising committees and sustainability of the events related to internal factors. External elements connected with financial support from central government were discussed along with the individual and collective challenges currently facing the durability of Highland games.

Following the interpretivist philosophical position from a social science perspective, the interviews provide an understanding of how the individuals interpret the world around them proposed by Mathews and Ross (2010) where the focus is on people in real social situations (Lazar, 2008; Seale, 2009). The interviewees were chosen due to their expert knowledge and also to ensure representation of small and large, urban and rural events across Scotland. Some events face unique individual challenges although there are broader challenges that may impact on every event in Scotland, (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5 for a discussion on Highland games and associated themes set within a national context). The interviews were conducted over a four month period, the purpose of the interviews to contribute to the knowledge base and to gain access to the *'real'* world (Gray, 2009), and make more sense of the subject by providing a deeper understanding of (Blaikie, 2008; Seale, 2009; Silverman, 2006a) organising Highland games. It is expected the findings will respond to the second objective to explore for evidence of event tourism, the third objective addressing the internal and external challenges faced by the organisers and the fifth objective to explore for evidence of social capital.

The individuals who were interviewed can only be identified by their position on their respective organising committee or as an expert in order to retain anonymity. The Highland games' environment in Scotland is small and as such many of the organisers are known to each other. To include gender as a descriptor is very likely to lead to the identification of any female participants, therefore the respondents are individualised by numbers. Following a thematic framework method (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002; Srivastava and Thompson, 2009) for qualitative analysis enabled themes to be developed inductively from the semi-structured interview data. As the sole interviewer, the researcher was already familiar with prior issues and emergent themes revealed by the other two data sets although the process of sifting and sorting the data was required to introduce into the framework (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). A systematic procedure followed charting data into the framework matrix (Gale et al., 2013) prior to mapping, interpretation and contextualisation (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002).

The first part of this chapter is focused on the connections with community which is expected to uncover elements of social capital in response to the fifth objective.

7.1 Highland games and community: links to social capital

The first topic approached was the philosophy of the events to determine if the events were community focused and to reveal any reciprocation between the events and the community. In order to answer these questions the respondents were asked if the focus of their own particular event was the local community, or if there was an intention to appeal to a wider audience. The responses were very focused on the community as central to Highland games as extolled by respondent 1:

> *…they're community events, where they've always been held, and I know some games…, that's the day every year when whether it be the local fête or whatever, in some areas it's the Highland games… So you've got the local traditional events which historically have been held there and they're for locals but then the other side of that, some of the bigger games are really appealing to the overseas market or visitors… …it's a day out for them being there…*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

The majority of Highland games are staged by the community for the community and are an important annual feature for many, expressed respondent 12 (Secretary) *"it is run for the local community, by local people… …for local benefit",* and respondent 2 (Expert) *"… (name of event) are games that are long established and they have a… …they are an important part of the community therefore they've got the support*". The cross section of society present at events was explained by respondent 10 who commented:

> *… Sir (name of person) and I became friends through Highland games… …Highland games are friendly. The competition was for people to get together…*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

There was emphasis on access for all reflecting how the events could bring people together on an equal standing, negating any élitist tendencies and

eliminating class distinction, which is contrary to the suggestion of Donaldson (1986) and Ray (2001) who postulate a lack of egalitarianism at some Scottish Highland games. This appears to suggest evidence of bridging social capital where associations transcend social and cultural differences as suggested by Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Burt (2000), Roberts (2004) and Torche and Valenzuela (2011), where connections can be nurtured and strengthened by the connectivity of social interaction.

The response from respondent 16 extends to the social community value when expressing thoughts on the community in its entirety:

> *I think this whole question of where did they arise from (Highland games) and why do they continue and why do people put a huge amount of effort into something like that, just because it's always been there, and where do the games fit within the communities in which they are held. So that moves it, it's just not economics and I don't think you'd really want to look at it from that perspective but it's community development, it's community enterprise. That's the picture. I think that's probably… … certainly from the perspective you get here, that is largely what it's about. It's collectively doing something well together and I think that's quite important, a bit of glue keeping communities together.*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

The comments by respondent 16 (Chairman) are clearly linked to social capital where at micro level (Blackshaw, 2009; Portes, 1988) people work together to achieve the same objective and develop community well-being (Halpern, 2005; Sharpley and Stone, 2012). Referring to Highland games Jarvie (1994) notes that in the west coast communities the process of keeping the games alive was about a way of life and not simply voluntary activities based on traditional rural activities within the agrarian environment.

The ability of Highland games to unite the community extends further afield when family and friends return, contends respondent 16:

> *… there are a lot of people who come back to the village for games' day and they just … …maybe meet their friends and obviously we welcome tourists as well, I think it's quite important just to keep the balance right, remember who your market is…*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

And respondent 10:

> *…to my mind that's synonymous with games, right, the fact that it's local folk, doing local things to get their kin[38] folk back together and have a Highland games… There are people… …tomorrow coming back to local events (names removed to preserve anonymity) because that's where they come from. They now live…,… I don't know, the other side of the world and they will make a point of coming back for a holiday for that week or for that fortnight to coincide with the local event… …there are folk who do that… …they make a point of coming back for that particular time to meet their friends, to meet their family.*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

The suggestion that individuals residing overseas are returning to the same event on an annual basis suggests evidence of the occurrence of event tourism, which addresses the second objective to establish evidence of event tourism at Highland games (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). Travelling large geographical distances conforms to bridging social capital defined by Portes (1988), Seippel (2006) and Tonts (2005) where associations transcend cultural differences.

Historically the events are scheduled for the same day every year such as the third Saturday in August or the first Sunday in June (Jackson, 1998; Tranter, 1998), therefore the scheduling of the event is likely to be known by past residents and repeat visitors. This may be a likely venue to reunite community members returning home at the time of the event, which suggests evidence of bonding social capital by re-enforcing familial ties or re-uniting with old acquaintances. Jarvie (2003) and McCall Smith (2003) advocate the ability of Highland games to re-unite colleagues and family, and Wilks (2012) concurs that community based events do have the ability to entice previous residents *'home'*.

Whilst promoting the community connection with the games, respondent 14 (Secretary) stated *"Well, our Highland games are a community event… It does attract tourists but it is also a community event … ",* confirmation that Highland games have the power to re-unite family and friends by providing an arena for

[38] Refers to family and relations

socialisation between locals and families, bringing groups together through building bonding social capital (Wilks, 2012). Events can be pivotal in re-uniting family and friends returning home (Chhabra et al., 2003; Gibson, 1998; Jarvie, 2003; Schofield and Thompson, 2007; Weed and Bull, 2004) leading to the term nostalgic tourists (Fairley and Gammon, 2005; Gibson, 1998).

Although there were semblances of changes taking place, as respondent 15 (Treasurer) pondered "*…set it up as a community based event, we've definitely evolved well away from that now. I think we're more at the stage now, prize money wise and crowd wise…"* (suggesting a much bigger event than a local community event). Continuing:

> *There is a real focus on Highland games as first and foremost a community event and if visitors or tourists are attracted, are welcomed although the strength of community support is distinguished as vital to the event's longevity.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

Respondent 8 (Secretary) affirms the support by organisers to the community by *"trying to use local things"* which in return re-enforces community support and mutual reciprocation, an important factor in community well-being (Sharpley and Stone, 2012). Respondents 6 (Secretary), 7 (Secretary), and 14 (Secretary) corroborate the emergence of events for the community although respondent 14 (Secretary) acknowledges the presence of tourists, like all events *"…it's open to everybody…" and if locals choose to attend "…it's just a choice thing…"* Unlike respondent 6 (Secretary) who states that *"… most of them, well… ...a good lot of the locals like the games, I mean they'll come up to it, they may not know what it's all about but they come up and support it…"*

Some events have evolved or moved away from a purely local community event sometimes without deliberate intention. The move away from a centrally based community event remains the theme of respondent 15's thoughts:

> *I think it's a shame the way some games have gone, you know, it was a… …they were founded on local people getting together and having a good day, competition… …I don't know when that was the "traditional events", you know, tests of strength and speed were obviously for young men that was proving they were warriors or something like that. I think there should be a place for these in*

> *every games and they're not really Highland games if they don't have these traditions in them… …I know that international visitors like tradition, they like to see bands marching and competing and all that stuff, they love it, they love the colour.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

Community ties are strong when associated with Highland games and the link between community and Highland games was evident during the interviews, although there is acknowledgment that visitors and tourists bring a welcome added dimension to the events, introducing interest in the cultural aspects of Highland games (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2). The findings suggest evidence of bonding social capital through the sharing of similar interests and experiences by way of community support and reciprocation, as proposed by Field (2003), Giddens and Sutton (2009) Halpern (2005), Putman (1993) and Torche and Valenzuela (2011).

There were suggestions by respondents 4 (Treasurer) and 5 (Treasurer) that incomers to the area or some of the younger spectators may not understand or identify with Highland games although their presence at events was considered favourable, as suggested by respondent 16 (Chairman), "…*it is the people that make the Highland games what they are*."

The strength of community support was evaluated by respondent 2 (Expert) who suggests that low key community events have all the attributes of sustainability, as the events have changed little over time and with community support will continue to exist. The sense of community within small community environments was explored by Harlambos and Holborn (2008) and Mohan and Mohan (2001) and found stronger evidence of social capital within small communities. Respondent 16 (Chairman) continues that up to a certain threshold the smaller communities are better at staging Highland games and as such retain more meaning for the local residents, accentuated by respondent 2 (Expert) suggesting the dissolution of sense of community within urban event environments. The suggestion that the historical beginning of the events might prevail if all other fails is reiterated by respondent 15:

> *…part of the mystique about the games is that the majority of them are held in small places organised by folk from the place, for*

> *the place and I think the big ones will never have the same feel. I mean (name of town) has got a catchment area of two hundred thousand people, but they never get the crowd… …it hasn't got the history and it's just in a big park… …it doesn't have the same atmosphere.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

This is at odds with respondent 3 (Partner) who states that in many respects development of a traditional community event is now moving towards a tourist event.

The emphasis on community appears to be very strong by most respondents although not to the extent of excluding visitors and tourists as proposed by Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Blackshaw (2010), Field (2003), Portes (1988), and Tonts (2005). Whilst the focus may be on the immediate community for most of the respondents, non-residents and tourists are made welcome extending bridging social capital across cultural and social divides. The discourse surrounding Highland games does appear to confirm evidence of social capital connecting immediate community, distantly located family and frequent patronage by tourists. The extent of social capital includes both bonding capital within the micro surroundings and bridging capital extended to the wider macro environment.

7.1.1 Patronage by locals and tourists

Based on the assumption that respondents predominately refer to their own event evolving as community events (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1) and that the majority of events were patronised by tourists, the respondents were asked if their own event was primarily to attract local resident support or appeal to tourists and day visitors.

Most respondents acknowledged the importance of local residents' contribution and support of Highland games and when the respondents were asked if they were targeting local residents or tourists the majority intimated appealing to both was the preferred option. Respondent 10 states:

> *I would say locals every time. Well the locals are there all the time, I mean they are more dependable, the tourists, if there's something doesn't suit them, they will just walk away.*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

The community's affiliation for the event exemplifies the mutual support extolled by social capital practitioners. Others are disappointed in the support for the event by the local community, as stated by respondent 5:

> *This has always been targeted to the local community however, the fact that it appears on the internet has made it more accessible to tourists… …in the new housing estate… … and I can honestly say very few of them come to the Highland games or get involved in the Highland games so most of the… …the bulk of our audience would be… …established villagers.*
>
> (Respondent 5, Treasurer)

Non-attendance at the event may be partially aligned with the notion of exclusion created by association with clubs or organisations, as a sense of not belonging, which reflects the exclusivity portrayed by Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Blackshaw (2010), Field (2003) and Portes (1988).

Respondent 9 (Treasurer) expressed a desire to increase local community support suggesting that *"…we would like to have more community people… …and we've tried to do that… …we're really very much tourists."* The notion for more community involvement is also put forward by respondent 8 (Secretary) stating *"To begin with the community, we would like to get the community more involved but also tourists… …if it's a nice day the people round about will come to the games, but we do have lot of overseas visitors."*

International tourists attending events was discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2) which leads to the second objective relating to event tourism, and is reiterated by respondent 8 (Secretary) suggesting that organisers are aware of the composition of at least part of the crowd attending events.

There was a general consensus of appealing to both by respondent 4 (Treasurer) preferring *"to cater for both, and the more the merrier coming in through the gates."* A sentiment shared by respondent 16 (Chairman) who targets *"Both, and I think we are very much aware that we need them all… …*

there are a lot of people who come back to the village for games' day." Stipulating that it is not just random tourists but includes former residents (Jarvie, 2003a; McCall Smith, 2003) who may be part of the VFR tourist activity discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.1.6. Respondent 13 (Chairman) acknowledges tourists and day trippers as a valuable market segment suggesting that:

> *We try and target both... …our growth market in my eyes is the day tripper… …some of our best supporters are people that have moved into the area and don't take the games for granted.*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

This is in complete contrast to respondent 5 (Treasurer) who senses there could be more support from the local community suggesting it is the incomers to the area that do not appear to be attending the events.

The straightforward statement of respondent 6 (Secretary) asserts that *"We're targeting everybody if we can…",* whereas respondent 2 (Expert) is conscious of the appeal of Highland games across the country stating *"…but the games, I think, is a huge thing, a huge boost for tourism in Scotland, it's a gem that should be maintained if possible."* It is interesting that individuals organising the events recognise the important contribution to Scottish tourism more so than the national government which refuses to recognise Highland games as a major feature of Scottish tourism (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5 for further discussion).

Respondent 3 (Partner) states categorically that *"We do hope to attract as many visitors as possible both to spend on the day when they're here and if it's their first time there to go back again…"* The implication is to promote the event to the tourist market in an attempt to increase tourism opportunities for the destination and repeat visitors. The presence of repeat visitation is discussed in Section 6.4 and may be related to returning family as found by Douglas and Turco (2007) and Hall (2005) or re-acquainting with old friends and acquaintances which may be fellow travellers (Lau and McKercher, 2004; Schofield and Thompson, 2007; Shani et al., 2009). Repeat visitors to events may be related to the success of the event and building a positive reputation

supported by de Bres and Davis (2001) whilst Kaplanidou and Gibson (2008) purport that event satisfaction is a significant predictor of repeat visits.

Every Highland games is unique (Getz, 2013) in location and content attracting local residents, day trippers and tourists regardless of the intention of the organisers. It may be the differences between the events that motivate individuals to attend multiple events in one season or across a number of years. Respondent 2 (Expert) sums up the situation referring to Highland games as *"…they are what they are and that's the attraction… … locally you can add whatever you want…"* There is a strong sense of acknowledgement that first and foremost the community is important and the primary target, although there is recognition that tourists are also important, the strength of focus on the tourists varying between respondents.

7.1.2 Competitor activity

At the core of Highland games are the competitive activities which include Highland dancing, pipe bands, solo pipers, massed pipes and drums, light track and field athletics, heavy events and backhold wrestling. There may also be tug o' war, cycling and novelty events and crucially for many events competitive activities for children. The amount and level of content can vary widely between events although the core content of Highland dancing, light track and field events, pipers and heavy events are generally considered as core competitive activity.

In response to the content and level of competitive activity within Highland games, respondent 2 explains:

> *The whole spread if possible, you would have the heavyweight events, the focus of the games, then you would have the light events, the running and the field events, the high jump, the long jump, pole vault if possible. Then you would have the Highland dancing, again another focus, a huge contributor, colourful and musical, solo piping if you can, not such a big attraction but it's very much part of the games' history and pipe bands, not necessarily a competition but pipe bands have to be there just as an attraction. Certainly involve children's events because it is a community event … …kids are just as entertaining as your top professional athletes and provide just as much fun … …more so you see in many cases even at (name of event) kids races are a*

> *great event and then of course the stalls, good stalls if you can, good stalls, again there's different stalls, some of them just have to take the stalls they can get, stalls too are essential, some folk are not interested in what's in the ring at all, they just want to see the stalls and the shows, the shows, side shows if possible.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

The events can attract élite athletes although this is not always regarded as a major selling point according to respondent 2:

> *… most crowds are not worried about the level of competition, they don't want to see the top guys throwing all the time, they just want to see a competition, they want to see big guys throwing a caber, that's all they want to see.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

As respondent 15 concurs:

> *At the end of the day some of the committee argue people don't care how good an athlete is you know, you could have somebody who is one of the top sprinters in Scotland running but it doesn't impress the crowd too much even although the commentator tells them that, they just want to see a race and the course finish.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

Interestingly it is not unknown for élite competitors to compete at Highland games within the individual competitions although they may only be recognised as an élite athlete within their own discipline such as Highland dancers, solo pipers, pipe bands and the heavy events. However athletes that are more widely known have competed in Highland games in the past and no doubt will do so in the future. Perhaps one of the best known outside Highland games was Geoff Capes who won Commonwealth Games gold medals competing in the shot-put and competed at Olympic Games. After retiring from amateur athletics the next 17 years were spent competing as a heavy event athlete at Highland games (www.express.co.uk/sport/). More recently at the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, 2014, Mark Dry (www.scotsman.com/sport/commonwealth) won a bronze medal throwing the hammer and has competed at Highland games in the past (www.forreshighlandgames.fsnet.co.uk/) and expressed he will compete at

future Highland games (BBC Commonwealth Games, 2014). That athletes competing on the world stage are actively participating at Highland games, does give some insight into how athletes use the events to hone their skills with the opportunity to compete at events throughout the season, and just might pull in higher admissions, even at local level it is financially beneficial for the events. Although Hinch and Higham (2005) and McKercher et al., (2006) suggest that the presence of élite athletes is unlikely to have undue influence on spectator numbers, it is unlikely that most athletes are known outside their area of expertise.

Contrastingly the majority of Highland games hold some form of running track athletics and many athletes compete at the events, although respondent 1 suggests there could be more participation by athletic clubs:

> *…there are a lot of athletic clubs that don't support the games for whatever reason, they've got their own league matches, but once they come they actually enjoy it because a lot of amateur athletic matches like at (name of town) it'll be two men and a dog watching, whereas if you go to a Highland games there's a bit of atmosphere.*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

There are Highland games that attract less than fifteen hundred spectators (see Table 5.4) but the implication is that there is room for more athletes across Highland games. Most of the commentators cited all competitive activity as equally important in order to provide the kind of spectacle and entertainment the audience expects, explained by respondent 2:

> *The games are not about drug elements and the athletes, it's not about purely athletes, it's about all the disciplines, you know, solo piping, pipe bands, your running, your tug o' wars, your heavyweights and a very central thing too is kids races, the participation of kids in that event and the stalls are all a central part. …you won't get everyone out to go and watch heavyweights, nor just watch dancing, but the whole amalgam of the lot… … they will come.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

Overseas competitors are frequently seen participating at events and bring with them an added dimension to the content and implications for event tourism and

economic contribution to tourism statistics. Evidence of overseas competitors addresses the second objective to explore evidence of event tourism at Highland games.

7.1.2.1 Overseas competitors

The contribution of international competitors to Scottish tourism may be significant (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4). Although this phenomenon has not been fully researched in Scotland there is potential this activity is contributing significantly to event tourism activity.

When asked about the participation of overseas competitors, respondent 16 (Chairman) intimated that *"…we do get overseas competitors but they tend to come as individuals."* Perhaps the individual travelling to compete is contributing to social capital associated with individuals preferred by Bourdieu (1985 and Mohan and Mohan (2002). Similarly respondent 15 (Treasurer) states *"We don't get groups of overseas competitors, we get individuals in all disciplines."* Whereas respondent 11 (Secretary) includes the supporting entourage accompanying competitors:

> *Sometimes, dancers usually, if they're coming over on holiday sometimes they'll come two or three families at a time, there might only be one or a couple of dancers in it but you then get groups. Two boys come to compete on a regular basis…*
>
> (Respondent 11, Secretary)

This brings to light the reality that competitors are not travelling in isolation bringing with them a support group which may include family and friends, particularly if it is a sole competitor rather than as part of a group. This would suggest some form of group association or membership proposed by Blackshaw (2009), Halpern (2005), Page and Connell (2010), Portes (1998), Putman (1993) Giddens and Sutton (2009) and Tonts (2005) associated with building social capital.

Clarified by respondent 7 when referring to groups of competitors:

> *I would say there probably is… …they maybe do a circuit, you know, they come across and they kind of do a circuit… …they have two weeks over here and they pick a circuit. Same with the most of the things like pipers and that, it's always a circuit…*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

The amount of interest may depend on the level of competition for an event to be appealing for overseas competitors, particularly if intending to travel to multiple events, or following well documented historical circuits (Brander, 1992; Colquhoun and Machell, 1927; Davidson, 2009; Gibson, 1882; McCombie Smith, 1891; Ross, 2014; Webster, 2011) suggesting some form of network association related to bridging social capital advocated by Harris (1998), Jarvie (2003), Roberts (2004), Taylor (2011) and Tonts (2005).

Other events attract different types of overseas competitors as respondent 8 recognises the competitive activity involved:

> *…sometimes we get some heavyweights, and… …We'll maybe get one or two but not a group, not groups of Highland dancers… …sometimes we get Australian pipe bands…*
>
> (Respondent 8, Secretary)

Respondent 4 (Treasurer) emphasises the attendance of pipers present,*…there was a band from New Zealand came last year… …dancers, bands heavyweight athletes, particularly…"* Whereas the competitors at respondent 14's (Secretary) event consisted of *"… two or three dancers I think. Last year we had a lot of Canadian and Australian dancers... …and a lot of overseas pipers.*

> (Respondent 14, Secretary)

The movement of contestants between events caused Macdonnell (1937) concern when it was identified that professional athletes were following a Highland games circuit in an effort to maximise their winnings which, as demonstrated in these findings, is a custom that persists as athletes continue to follow older traditions (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3 for further discussion).

The topic of pipers and dancers is continued by respondent 13 claiming that:

> *…this year we've actually got a dance school from… …I think… …Canada are bringing twenty-one dancers across …there's four dancers from a dance school in Holland. But you get groups from New Zealand and South Africa as well, smaller groups, but yes. Pipe bands are mainly from Canada… …France and Belgium and also the Irish and English bands.*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

As respondent 9 (Treasurer) concludes *"There's quite a number of Highland dancers tend to come in groups. We've got twenty Highland dancers coming from Alberta… …they're keen enough to come over."*

The depth of information regarding participation by overseas competitors is fundamental to creating and maintaining networks by membership and association. The link with social capital is evident not only because many competitors are travelling in groups, but competing in multiple events across the country as they follow a circuit, most likely competing at as many games as possible. (Chapter 6, Figure 6.12 illustrates the movement of competitors between overseas countries.)

The importance of the contribution towards building social capital between competitors and their entourages appears evident through association of Highland games as group members. Normally resident in a foreign country and geographically distant from Scotland establishes the links proposed by Blackshaw (2009), Halpern (2005), Portes (198), Putman (1993) Giddens and Sutton (2009) and Tonts (2005), therefore provides evidence to address the fifth objective to determine if there are relationships contributing to building social capital. Some of the findings in this section are pertinent to the second objective to investigate if Highland games contribute to event tourism which is significant in the visitation patterns of some overseas competitors. Not only are international competitors travelling to Scotland to compete there is evidence of travelling between events and repeat visitation.

7.2 Committees

The committees are predominately volunteers giving their time, energy and skills working behind the scenes to organise the events. There can be specific

challenges related to a volunteer workforce as found within the realms of Highland games' organisers by Reynolds (Ross, 2011). The first theme answered by the respondents related to the longevity of committee members as this was found to be of some significance by Reynolds (Ross, 2011).

7.2.1 Longevity of committee members

Most of the events work on a not-for-profit basis and organised by voluntary committees, succinctly stated by respondent 15 (Treasurer) *"……doing it on a voluntary basis and it becomes like a job…"* This suggestion is aligned with Stebbin's (2004) development of serious leisure as volunteering that becomes like a job or requiring special skills and skills are accumulated over time (Roberts, 2004).

The general format of organisations operating with a formal committee set up is that official bearers will remain in place for a certain term and tend to move on after the AGM elections. However, the situation appears to be quite different with many of the Highland games' organising committees as explained by respondent 7:

> *I mean there's not much latitude, we don't have queues of volunteers… We have committee members who have been with us forty, fifty years, I would say about three quarters of them are between thirty… …thirty and fifty years service… …and our most recent member started three months ago so there is that spectrum and I should say the average time on the committee is probably five, six seven years at least.*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

A sentiment is shared by respondent 16:

> *It (committee age) tends to be older… …there are a lot of people who are retired and so I would say you would probably find the average age of sort of 60ish but there are a lot of people also sort of semi-retired… …I think it is difficult to get younger people involved in that because they tend not to have the time … …you know they are all working all hours of the day…*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

When commenting on the age of committee members a few of the respondents are facing similar situations as expressed by respondent 4:

> *…we struggle with the age of the committee, you know, but that's… …certainly if we had no volunteers except those that are actually on the committee, then it wouldn't really happen you know.*
>
> (Respondent 4, Treasurer)

It appears the older committee members do have benefits as explained by respondent 1 (Chairman) *"There's several hundred years experience… …there are one or two younger ones, but by and large, a lot of experience on that committee."* A thought shared by respondent 13 (Chairman) stating that *"Sometimes people in the job for sixteen years can be good because of the depth of knowledge they have…"* The vast wealth of knowledge held by committee members and commitment reflects the serious nature of the volunteering proposed by Stebbins (2004).

There is substantial recognition of the importance of attracting younger members to the committee with some events having more success than others. Age tends to be a recurring theme as respondent 14 (Secretary) clarifies *"Since I've joined the committee, like me they've just got older. Our present chairman at the moment is 75… …we have one young lad…. …I would say about 50 is the average age.* A similar situation is presented by respondent 11 (Secretary) who suggests *"…once they're in they tend to stay."* The theme continues as respondent 15 (Treasurer) acknowledges that *"…we're getting thinner and thinner on the ground."* The inability to attract younger members may result in existing members unable to leave resulting in situations where individuals do not feel they can leave or as respondent 8 (Secretary) proposes *"Sometimes they stay on forever, and this is what's been happening."*

The suggestion that long serving committee members can be a good thing is corroborated by respondent 1 (Chairman) *…a lot of them (events) have been the same committee members, diehard committee members and have maybe run the games for 20 years…"* The implication is that not everyone who is a long serving committee member wants to leave and may be linked with the

more social aspects of volunteering found by Kemp (2002) or reliance on enthusiasm expressed by Gursoy et al., (2003).

The sense of commitment is a recurring theme as respondent 7 explains:

> *They tend to stay, once you're in with the games you tend to get hooked and you definitely stay… …it's difficult nowadays… …to get people to come on to the committee especially because it's voluntary.*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

The commitment demonstrated by acting committee members may result in successful event operations proposed by Watt (1998) suggesting volunteer community groups can be very effective due to high levels of commitment and hard work. The reliance on a small number of dedicated individuals replicates the findings of Bendle and Patterson (2008) where there is a reliance on the enthusiasm of the group (Gursoy et al., (2003) and the commitment to the group increases with the length of service (Getz, 1997). All these attributes of committee members are reflected in the findings where it is expected the longevity of committee members may be in some part due to enjoying the activities involved in organising an event.

There were two respondents (2, Expert; and 16, Chairman) who specifically identified that perhaps some of the committee members were not able to contribute as much as they had in the past, with respondent 2 (Expert) when referring to an older committee member with fondness, commenting intuitively that *"…everybody knows there are inefficiencies and they protect them (the individual) and it is perhaps the only thing in that person's life, so why take it away?"*

The findings seem to suggest that whilst there appears to be a number of older committee members keen to continue to contribute to the Highland games, there are others who may prefer to leave but do not feel that is an option. Yet there are others who do not have the same ability to do the job as in the past and are protected by the other committee members as part of the group or the community. Within the group membership the trust and reciprocation demonstrated by the members reflects bonding social capital and answers

objective five to explore evidence of social capital at Highland games and objective three to explore internal and external challenges. Participating and organising the events builds social capital through community support (Misener and Mason, 2006) and the network, norm and sanctions proposed by Halpern (2005).

7.2.2 Recruiting new members

It is not always the case that committee members want to remain on the committees ad infinitum as explained by respondent 6:

> *You don't get to leave once you're in. Members find it very difficult to leave once they're in. I'll give you an instance of someone on the committee who tried to resign and he was told 'but you're no' deid[39] yet'. There tends not to be a very high turnover on the committee. We're fortunate in that we've actually got younger helpers coming in. We're very fortunate there, but the rest of us are well past our sell by date.*
>
> (Respondent 6, Secretary)

A sentiment shared by respondent 5:

> *…often committee members stay on the committee because they are committed to the games and realise that if they were to leave the committee there's nobody else really to replace them. So… …over the years I can think of a few people who wanted to give it up but haven't been able to give it up because there's nobody else to do the job.*
>
> (Respondent 5, Treasurer)

Contrastingly respondent 2 states:

> *…most of the lads here… …it's such a long history that they want to keep it going, that's the great thing, bring in youngsters onto the committee and… ... the youngsters want to come on in the country areas, they want to put that in, it's seen as a great thing to belong to the local games. You need to keep feeding in youngsters all the time if you want anything to continue…*
>
> Respondent 2 (Expert)

[39] 'Deid is the colloquial Scottish word for dead

As found by respondent 6 (Secretary) when referring to the ages of the committee members *"…three getting on for seventy… …there's only a few young ones and we're really needing more young folk…"* Respondent 14 (Secretary) *"…we've got a couple of young ones now who are interested but the average age is late 50s or 60s…"* Continuing problems enticing younger members is expressed by respondent 11:

> *Well we have a problem getting young ones… …we've got three younger ones and everybody else is forty plus… …there's some at sixty plus, there's a few more at sixty plus than fifty plus.*
>
> (Respondent 11, Secretary)

As with many events, Highland games rely on volunteers (Elstad, 2003) joining the committee to help manage and organise the events. The difficulty of attracting new young members on to the organising committees has been addressed in Section 7.2 however the inability to increase committee member numbers and introduce younger members is a concern for some respondents. Typified by respondent 10:

> *…the next generation don't seem to have the same interest, but as they get older that might change, but at the moment my concern would be, who's going to take it on? Who's going to keep it going?*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

A similar sentiment was given by respondent 6 (Secretary) *"…getting folk on the committee, younger, able to cart things about, you know, come up with new ideas of what we could do…"* and respondent 7

> *…it's just getting the people in because, you know, I'm getting older… …the members have to bring someone in… …and then you have to… …there's a lot goes on, on games day and there's a lot of people it's all in their head I've noticed over the years… …and you say to yourself you need to write this down because if you ever go away, disappear or something we're all stumped…*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

Although a concern for a number of organisers respondent 15 was a bit more optimistic commenting:

> *The only main concern is maybe the number of young people that are maybe attracted in, but I think that if each committee made a conscious effort to attract… …you'd get them in, you'd get them in, it's the fear of the unknown with a lot of people.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

The difficulty found by some organisations to attract younger or new members was discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.2 although the current section distinctly highlights the inability to attract new members as potentially fateful to the future of the events and reflects the findings of Reynolds (2011) and Bendle and Patterson (2008) who found a reliance on a relatively small number of organisers.

However there can be challenges when trying to recruit new committee members as well as retaining the old, as stated by respondent 10 when asked about the committee:

> *They are very limited, a scarce commodity. Any people coming in? No. Because nobody's interested… …everybody wants the event to happen but nobody is interested in contributing to setting it up. But I do have more helpers now than I did.*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

Respondent 9 simply states when referring to recruiting new members *"…It is difficult to get folks… …Very much a problem"* perhaps exacerbated by the volunteer status of committees as noted by respondent 7:

> *…it's difficult nowadays… …to get people to come on to the committee especially because it's voluntary… …We're slowly getting younger ones in now but it's a struggle, it's a real struggle to get younger people interested in Highland games, to give their time up. …they don't want to do the voluntary bit…*
>
> (Respondent 9, Treasurer)

There appears to be some relation to the perceived amount of work as part of committee as respondent 8 agrees, stating:

> *… although we do have one or two a bit younger. I think a lot of people prefer to come and enjoy themselves, not get involved, put some hard work in, and I don't think a lot of them want that.*
>
> (Respondent 8, Secretary)

Respondent 14 concurs, proposing that:

> *…it's very difficult... …everybody wants things to go on but they don't want to become involved, they're worried in case they have to take up a position.*
>
> (Respondent 14, Secretary)

A similar insight was offered by respondent 5 when referring to the committee members: *"…it's hard to attract people full stop, to actively serve on a committee and it's usually down to a band of committed volunteers who tend to stay for quite a number of years and become involved with the games."* People who want to leave but cannot, as explained by respondent 14 *"…if we left there's nobody to take over, we can't get anybody to join…. He's always going to pack it in but he never does, nobody seems to want to do it."* Similar sentiments are repeated by respondent 15 *"It's quite difficult to get them (committee members)… …it's the same people that have been doing the same job now… … he's retired in his late sixties… …he's got nobody to take his place… …we don't have anybody to take his place either."*

The difficulties attracting new members and some of the misconceptions projected on the organisers may contribute to the length of time some committee members remain as active members. There may be other reasons why individuals who want to be part of the committee do not volunteer as respondent 6 explains:

> *There's not a high turnover, the problem is getting young folk on to it and I mean we've been trying… … I know why we can't get them, because they don't like the old folk that are on the committee… …I mean, there's folk on the committee that have been on it from the start and they're still trying to live like thirty years ago, you know, and they're not willing to change… … the*

> *young folk don't like that so they won't come on the committee, but now some of them are realising they're' too old and they just can't do… …I mean they're all right with some things but the physical stuff they're not good…*
>
> (Respondent 6, Secretary)

A slightly different perspective is provided by respondent 15:

> *They might see it as some sort of specialism that people couldn't learn, maybe think it's a sort of closed society, you've got a committee… …well everybody's got to start somewhere.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

The misapprehension continues as respondent 13 proposes that:

> *…the biggest misconception we found was that… …the organisers… …it was a closed shop that it was a bit of an old boys' network, a bit élitist… …we were trying to break away from that but the perception is still there that's how it was and that's why… …they hadn't come forward. The other perception was that we didn't need any help…*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

Another potential problem was identified by respondent 3 who disclosed that as a relatively new participant involved with organising committees the individual found themselves *"…up against a form of entrenchment through tradition, it's always been done like this, it's always worked'…"* A similar situation found by respondent 13 commenting on making changes

> *…I would ask them 'why is this done that way?' well because that's just the way that we do it' yes, well but have you looked another way? Well it's always been done that way'… …so it was that mindset that was quite difficult to get through.*
>
> (Respondent 3, Partner)

The findings suggest a variation in the ability to attract new members which in some cases results in committee members unable to voluntarily retire, partly due to the concerns relating to the capability of the remaining members managing to stage the event with reduced numbers. The commitment demonstrated is tangible in that the prime purpose appears to be focused on the continuance of the event. The relationship between committee members

support for the organisation and fellow members suggests evidence of bonding social capital associated with individuals, groups and organisations proposed by Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Putman (1993), O'Sullivan et al., (2008) and Seippel (2006). However, the findings allude to elements of exclusion if potential committee members do not feel they belong or that it is an exclusive or élitist type of club where outsiders are not welcome which is consistent with Blackshaw (2009), Halpern (2005), Portes (1998), Putman (1993), Giddens and Sutton (2009), Taylor (2011) and Tonts (2005). Evidence of social capital within the committee members addresses the fifth objective to determine if Highland games contribute to building social capital and the third objective exploring internal and external challenges.

7.2.3 SHGA (Scottish Highland Games Association)

The SHGA is the governing body of affiliated Highland games and is the link between individual Highland games and Scottish Government departments and national organisations. Affiliation is voluntary and affords individual events support through regulation, recording any records set and testing competitors for performance enhancing drugs or chemicals.

There was general support for the SHGA although some respondents held a more favourable stance than others. Observations such as *"too much emphasis on the athletic side but that is altering"* (Respondent 11) or respondent 7's comment "*…they don't have enough punch"* suggest that to some extent the SHGA may have difficulties or restrictions placed on the organisation that inhibit the ability to collectively support Highland games as much as desired.

There were some observations and suggestions for the SHGA such as respondent 4 proposing that:

> *Basically there should be better publicity for the games through national media as such, you know,… …I don't think there's enough publicity in general for the Highland games in the whole country… …I think they do more in America than we do with publicity.*

Perhaps the advert promoted on Scottish television (STV, 2014) may appease respondent 4, or that VisitScotland have, for the first time, produced an online guide to the majority of events in Scotland (VisitScotland, 2014) although charging the organisers a fee in the process. However the concerns are not restricted to national promotional activities and perhaps a more concerning matter noted by respondent 15:

> *Maybe the SHGA should be more actively involved in helping games that are struggling… …maybe they should be playing a bigger plan in that, I don't know what their attitude would be if a games was going under, whether they would send in the troops or… …I don't know.*

On the subject of financial assistance respondent 7 suggests:

> *I would like Highland games to become listed and have some help. I know that the SHGA has tried to get help, that is, financial help for the games you know, to get so that they roll on… I think they should be… …instead of the games trying to find sponsorship they should be out there trying to get all Highland games some kind of sponsorship from say Scottish Enterprise, VisitScotland… …that kind of organisation, those kinds of areas. It's something which all games should be helped in some form or another.*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

Until the Scottish Government commits support to Highland games by official recognition and support of an appointed government office there is the prospect the events will continue to fall between heritage and sport (BBC, 2010) and remain bureaucratically invisible (Reynolds, 2011). Recognition of the benefits of the SHGA is explained by respondent 12:

> *They're very good in the fact that they've got a structure and they've got a rule… … that is a good guide line for the games. They've also got their administration set up…which has been tried and tested over a number of years… …I'd say it's healthier now than it was…*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary)

Respondent 16 recognised the SHGA as:

> *…potentially quite an important organisation because it is quite at ease… …we know each other and it could be useful means of*

> *developing various aspects of Highland games and drawing funding in…*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

A point of view shared by respondent 15 who continues *'I think it's good…it's a body that's going to ensure stability in the first place… …to ensure that the traditions are maintained.* There is another faction that acknowledges the difficulties of the role of the SHGA when attempting to support Highland games as commented by respondent 8:

> *They try to, but it's very difficult trying to get anything. …meetings with Scots ministers but they just weren't interested. They wanted enough money to give each games, maybe a few thousand pounds and any games that was in difficulty to try and help them, but they couldn't get the money to do it.*
>
> (Respondent 8, Secretary)

While respondent 11 acknowledges that:

> *…the fact it is the governing body and it gives you the rules… ...there's a lot of flack they have to take from a lot of folk but… …I think there has to be some sort of controlling body, I think what they're trying to do is possibly correct they are going in the right direction…*
>
> (Respondent 11, Secretary)

When referring to funds allocated to The Gathering in 2009 respondent 12 proposes that:

> *…the Scottish Highland Games Association needs help from VisitScotland and EventScotland. EventScotland's fine but it's something new, something different… …there's a major amount of money being put into The Gathering next year which in some ways would be as well split up between the various areas.*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary)

The Gathering held in Edinburgh (2009) was cited as an example of the indifference of MSPs towards Highland games (BBC news, 2010) as the SHGA were ineffective when attempting to persuade the Scottish Government to schedule The Gathering 2009 to a week day event so that it did not compete

with existing Highland games. Concluding with a general opinion on The Gathering by Respondent 2:

> *…through all the Highland games I think we have the opinion that, again it's a circus, they're creating a Highland games with no background, they're creating a Highland games on the background of Scotland. But again, bring in overseas athletes to compete… …it's also impinging on five or six Highland games in Scotland on the same day who struggle to get athletes anyway, and these lads come in… ….my own opinion is perhaps it will flag up Highland games worldwide, that is the great thing… …I wouldn't be too critical of this one-off event but it is sad sometimes to see the amount of money that's being poured into one event whereas a lot of other events struggle, but… …in many ways the money has been put into a flagship for Highland games and I've nothing against that at all, hopefully it will spur people to attend and appreciate the smaller games too. We find that whoever's in charge, politically of Scotland, want to make the biggest show ever, you know, and pour the biggest amount of money….*
>
> (Respondent 2 Expert)

There are mixed feelings about the role of the SHGA and its influence within the Scottish Government and there does appear to be an uphill struggle in attempts to persuade the government that Highland games are worthy of some form of financial support. There is no doubt that without the regulatory control and formalisation of Highland games by the SHGA the inconsistency of maintaining and recording results would remain. In addition, the SHGA also play a critical role organising intermittent drug tests at affiliated members' events to eliminate or dissuade athletes using performance enhancing drugs.

The lack of financial support from central government may contribute to the instability of the games and as outdoor events there are the obvious challenges associated with adverse weather conditions. However these are not the only challenges faced by the organisers.

7.3 Generating income for a sustainable future

The Highland games that participated in this research operated on a not-for-profit basis, striving to generate enough finance from one year to the next is crucial to the longevity of the events. Uppermost in many minds is the need to generate income to invest in the field or arena and equipment. If a profit is

generated after investing in the event and topping up the reserve funds many events donate further profit locally, (see Chapter 5) although this is not always possible explains respondent 5:

> *We're not out to make a profit, we don't give out money… …we don't donate money to anybody, or we haven't donated money to anybody because we haven't been in a position to do it, I guess, and it's really about surviving from one year to the next, I mean you could have… …the money we make is purely weather dependent, a great gate can make or break your Highland games.*
>
> (Respondent 5, Treasurer)

Respondent 15 emphasises the importance of fair weather on the event day stating that:

> *Before that you'd be getting the long range weather forecast… …are we going to get enough through the gate to make us viable to… …because we need the money up front to set the games up for next year.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

The concern about weather conditions is justified as there are often media reports of Highland games cancelling events due to inclement weather conditions (Mearns Leader, 2012; The Courier, 2012; STV news, 2013). During 2012 there were a particularly high number of cancellations owing to bad weather mostly related with flooding. Not all of the events charge entrance fees although the need to do so is clarified by respondent 13:

> *…we have to charge people at the gate because it is one of the few ways we have of getting money. …a lot of funders won't look at us because they assume we're aiming to make a profit which we don't aim to make huge profits but basically aim to make sure it's a sustainable event…*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

The amount of finance required to host Highland games varies between events (see Chapter 5) although some costs are applicable to all as commented by Respondent 2:

> *…everything is getting more expensive and there are more and more regulations and laws being thrown at Highland games, so*

> *more money needs to be generated so they've got to try and get more folk in and generate a wee bit more cash anyway…*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

Respondent 12 (Expert) states that *"…profits we have are really ploughed back into the field…"* and respondent 6 (Secretary) concurs that *"… we're trying to make a profit to sustain the events…"* Even with fair weather and entrance fees, respondent 4 (Treasurer) declares that *"The money that comes through the gate wouldn't be enough, at the moment to cover the day…"* This suggests a dependence on additional sources of income which may be sourced by selling advertising space and programmes or collecting sponsorship and other means of generating additional finance.

There are some commercially driven Highland games in Scotland although they were not part of this research respondent 13 suggests that:

> *… for most Highland games to be sustainable they are going to have to become slightly more commercial… …So, I think probably commercialism is going to creep into it and probably needs it to allow them to have the money to continue…*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

Whereas respondent 7 (Secretary) acknowledges the need to generate income explains that *"...it's not run commercially… … it's run commercially as in we've got to make money to put the next games on…"*

Other respondents indicated that they are close to sustaining a loss year on year and without outside support from public bodies such as EventScotland, VisitScotland, the Scottish Executive (sporting or heritage budget), local authorities or local enterprise companies. It is possible that if games continue to make a loss they will become unsustainable and perhaps more of these events will be lost (see Appendix F). Mair and Whitford (2013) propose that unless there is academic interest in indigenous events they are unlikely to attract public sector funding and Jarvie (2003a) and Ross (2011) inform that Highland games are marginalised from financial support from the public sector. The circumstances were reiterated by DTZ Research (2007) from interviews conducted with SHGA members and the fact that even minimal inputs from

VisitScotland and other agencies could make a big difference, particularly as some games operate with a very small budget. Indeed, this organisers' survey has achieved a far greater impact in terms of understanding the games in Scotland since the DTZ Research (2007) report.

One of the most important aspects of the events is to ensure there is enough finance available to stage the games year after year and there are many hidden costs. Costs involved when adhering to legislation and financial matters which was an area of concern for respondent 4:

> *…money, lack of money that is the mainstay of it to get on. We usually just scrape through every year, we just about get enough to cover everything.*
>
> (Respondent 4, Treasurer)

When reflecting on financial aspects and community, respondent 14 comments:

> *I would say most of the games, the money part… …is for the community and I think that's the strength of the games… …there's nobody really coining it in from the games you just feel that at the end of the day you've maybe done something for the area, something for the local community, you know.*
>
> (Respondent 14, Secretary)

Similar thoughts are echoed by respondent 2 linking the financial benefits to local support stating:

> *Games are essentially community events making not a lot of money… …any money goes back into the community and it's really… …and its longevity depends on its local connection that families after families after families run the games, whereas someone coming into that community trying to make cash it's… …there's no long term basis to that at all.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

The emphasis on community is conspicuous and may be very well placed as Lothian (2001) found that some commercially led events, where profit was the motivator, first appeared in the 1980s round the north east of Scotland. At the time events were not held in these locations, although they may have in the past, commercial games were introduced at Nairn, Fochabers and Inverness.

However, the events were not financially successful and as a result, the events had ceased to operate by 1993 (Lothian, 2001) although there is currently an event operated by the local authorities at Inverness. Commercial events have surfaced at the Clyde Valley in 2010 (visitlanarkshire, 2010) and Falkirk in 2007 (Falkirk Herald, 2007) although were not repeated the following years which is perhaps a reflection of the need for local community support to sustain the events.

The discourse around finance and the ability to generate income relates to the third objective and includes both internal and external challenges. One would question the need for these events to be self-sustaining and having to rely on fund raising and sponsorship when a little financial assistance from central government could prevent any further loss of events.

7.3.1 Government bodies – public sector assistance

The majority of events have indicated they are operating on a self-sustaining basis with little financial support from external sources although public sector assistance is inconsistent across the country. Community events such as Highland games and traditional sports events staged primarily for fun and entertainment are often marginalised from mainstream funding (Jarvie, 2003; Reynolds, 2011; Ross, 2011) they are of little interest to governments because of the modest economic impact.

Whilst the events operate on a not-for-profit basis there are times when it is necessary to look for external funding opportunities usually toward local authorities and central government. One of the criticisms levied toward the SHGA is the seemingly inability to garner any kind of financial assistance from central government. Some events have indicated financial support from local authorities although this is not consistent across the country as noted by respondent 1:

> *…regionally some of the regions have had a bit of success with their local governments in terms of getting support but as a national body I don't think…*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

Whereas respondent 13 acknowledges support from the local authority stating:

> *We rely on the gate and local support and on the local council. We sat down with the local council before last year's event and basically said 'look, we've had three years losses… …the nest egg that we'd built over the good years has gone… …our costs although we keep trimming them are still going to remain fairly high… …and if you don't support us further it might not happen'. So they did, they stepped up to the mark…*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

Meanwhile respondent 16 (Chairman) states *"…we got a bit of a grant from there (local council) but other than that we get nothing in the revenue side."*

The changing face of politics can also influence how the games are regarded by incoming politicians implies respondent 3 (Partner) as central government changed from Labour to the Scottish National Party in 2007 *"…There's also the cultural side which is somewhat neglected at the moment simply because of the position of the Scottish Government."* When referring to the shifting of responsibilities of incoming ministers and the new Scottish National Party (Scottish Government, 2013) devising a new cultural strategy following a change of government in 2007 (previously Labour Government). The inability of successive central government's to support Highland games is considered by respondent 1:

> *With regard to financial support that has been virtually non-existent (government support)… …I think what is found that whenever games' approach any of these government sub-committees, if we say we're a sport they say you're not sport, we're heritage, when we go to heritage, this is sport… We thought we might have got a bit more high profile through Homecoming Scotland (2009)… …listed in the Events guide and there's only been half a dozen of our games listed, now I don't know why that would be. I would have thought one page on the back, so really in terms of support this hasn't really being supporting it at grass roots level… …there's been very little coming from government either directly or indirectly.*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

This inability to firmly place Highland Games within the Scottish Government (see Section 2.5 for further discussion) is shared by Reynolds (2011) who described the Highland Games as *"bureaucratically invisible"* because the

Scottish Government does not have a single department that oversees the games. The lack of support extends to VisitScotland which is seen by some as failing to assist Highland games as respondent 7 (Secretary) alludes in reference to VisitScotland *"…I also think they have forgotten the small games round about, I honestly think they have forgotten them, I think it's sad…"* similar sentiments repeated by respondent 12:

> *I think we're short of… …VisitScotland, government support, I think it's really from there. I mean all these Members of Scottish Parliament (MSP's) love to be seen at the games, but if you ask an awkward question they all vanish into the woodwork, and VisitScotland is the one that's just been dissipated with the overturning of the… ….I mean the local areas…*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary)

There appears to be a general consensus that central government or national organisations could increase support of Highland games according to respondent 16 it appears that:

> *They (Highland games) are standing alone, they never get any public support… … if there was a way in which a successful established games could be rescued from events that are beyond its control, you'd say, okay we'll build back up your reserves and make good a proportion of your losses, or something like that, just so that there was a financial cushion you could go to and make sure that they didn't disappear… … and as I say VisitScotland put nothing back in, the government put nothing back in… … but they are all very happy to have (Highland games) them on calendars and tourist brochures.*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

Perhaps the Highland games are somehow misunderstood by central government as respondent 2 suggests:

> *I hate to use the word sexy, but that used to be the great thing in marketing and most of them didn't reckon that Highland games were sexy enough for money… …politicians never thought, you know, it was the thing to do but I think they're missing a great trick.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

This begins to suggest that organisers are aware of the appeal of Highland games outside the local communities that somehow central government fails to comprehend although respondent 1 proposes that:

> *It's quite ironic because although they (Scottish Government) won't give us any support I think they do realise how important it is because if you see a lot of their documents that come out, or their brochures, Highland games is one of their selling points, you know, if you go to VisitScotland's website I'm sure there'll be somebody throwing a hammer or somewhere on their home page so I think they know the importance of it in trying to sell the country, but that doesn't reflect when it filters down to giving the guys that are putting it on the support.*
>
> Respondent 1 (Chairman)

One of the key problems accessing funding from the Scottish Government is that there is no single body or department that has a mandate or remit to include Highland games. The three Ministers in a position to oversee Highland games are Minister for Energy, Enterprise and Tourism (Fergus Ewing), Minister for Commonwealth Games and Sport (Shona Robison) or Minister for Culture and External Affairs (Fiona Hyslop) (www.scotland.gov.uk). It is reasonable to expect Highland games to be placed as a different priority from the Commonwealth Games 2014 which provides a high level of media coverage and aid regeneration (www.scotland.gov.uk). It is not unreasonable to assume that Highland games would require a small percentage of funding if required to ensure existing events remained sustainable. In Scotland there is currently no government department that holds responsibility for supporting Highland games. Many Highland games are likely to be regarded as insignificant in terms of return on funding (Getz, 2008) or that, on the most part, that as the events are self-sustaining are denied public funding (Felsenstein and Fleischer, 2003).

Arguably, it would be minimal sums of money across the current 95 events, and given that some events operate with a budget of less than £5,000 (see Chapter 5), substantial amounts of money may not be required to support events when suffering financial difficulties. In many respects as small and medium sized events, Highland games do not require funding from public funds as advocated

by Higham (1999) there are times when a little financial support could make the difference between the survival or demise of an event.

7.4 The challenges facing Highland games

The discussion so far has highlighted some of the financial challenges facing Highland games and although individual events deal with their own adversities some challenges emerge that have the potential to affect every single Highland games in Scotland. The following section address some of the challenges expressed by the organisers that are most likely to impact on the success of future Highland games and continues to address the internal and external challenges in individual and collective issues faced by the organisers. One of the main challenges discussed elsewhere in this thesis was to encourage younger committee members to join which has been incorporated into the discussion in Section 7.2.

During this research there were two specific events, when the researchers were present that the Highland dancing had to be relocated to the local halls due to rain causing the dancing platform to become slippery and dangerous for the dancers. Outdoor events are susceptible to adverse weather conditions which can result in cancellation (Jarvie, 2006; Light, 1996). A concern raised by respondent 8 (Secretary) is that the Highland games are really *"…firstly dependent on the weather, that's a big factor. If it's a nice day people will come out and the competitors will come. It it's a wet day they won't bother."* Respondent 4 also has concerns regarding the weather proposing that:

> *Weather… ...the big thing is the weather, if it's pouring rain you're not going to get the crowd… ...and I suppose really, the crowd affects it because if the weather is bad they don't want to come… …and trying to keep the crowd involved… …weather is the worst one*
>
> (Respondent 4, Treasurer)

Unsurprisingly one of the key concerns continues to be financial when responding to the question relating to major threats to the continuance of events, respondent 10 (Chairman) states *"Probably be financial."* The theme continues as respondent 7 (Secretary) suggests *"…the lack of money to run*

them…" and reiterated by respondent 14 (Secretary) proposing *"…partly, money is one of the main things… …that is the mainstay of it to get on. We usually just scrape through every year, we just about get enough to cover everything."* As a general comment respondent 9 (Treasurer) ponders *"To be honest, I think it's going to be difficult in the future and I think other places will be much the same…"*

Access to sufficient finance to stage the event does not end with the temporary structures in place there has to be prize money in order to attract a sizeable number of competitors, which after all, are part of the main entertainment. Accordingly, it is important to attract competitors as commented by respondent 8 (Secretary) *"The competitors are okay, not bad with them at all, but we've got to keep our prize money attractive, keep up the prize money and they'll come…"* Other comments linked with competitors are provided by respondent 16 (Chairman) who deliberates *"I think we want to make sure that the competitors will continue to come forward… "* Presenting financial rewards to successful athletes is an historical tradition interwoven with Highland games, presented in the works of Burnett (2000), Colquhoun and Machell (1927), Davidson (2009), Gibson (1882), McCombie Smith (1891), Ross (2014) and Webster (2011). The competitors are the mainstay and a core theme of Highland games with many consciously choosing which events to enter. The possibility of high earnings from competition is likely to motivate competitors to gravitate to the most lucrative events, especially where there are Open or Premium competitions. However, there can also be financial rewards when competing in restricted local categories as promoted in the Braemar Gathering Programme (2007) and the Bathgate and Lothian Highland Games Programme (2007).

The level of competition varies depending on the prize money on offer and this variation in level of competition provides a platform for competitors at all levels to compete. The élite competitors are likely to gravitate towards the events offering the most prize money providing an opportunity for athletes still in the process of developing their skills to be able compete at smaller, less financially lucrative events.

7.4.1 Travelling competitors

Another associated cost is for the competitors travelling to the more remote or rural locations (refer Figure 6.12) as concerns were raised over the problems competitors may have travelling to the events. As respondent 4 implies:

> *…a pipe band travelling from Glasgow to come here to compete, all of a sudden they're finding that the transport costs have jumped up because of the price of diesel and things… …it's the same with athletes travelling to the games, they travel to the games in cars so that's going to cost extra so they're looking for prize money when they come to the games.*
>
> (Respondent 4, Treasurer)

This theme is re-iterated by respondent 6 (Secretary) *"… for bands travelling, it costs… … it costs an awful lot to hire a bus to go and compete…,* similar concerns were raised by respondent 9:

> *…the like of Highland dancers... …I do see who's entered the Highland dancing, I suppose, I do see where they come from. But I'm thinking… ….we have Highland dancers coming from Caithness to Berwickshire… …and that I imagine could change.*
>
> (Respondent 9, Treasurer)

Respondent 14 (Secretary) also has concerns regarding the cost of competitors travelling when referring to pipe bands *"…especially with the price of travelling now, you find that a lot of them come in their own cars now rather than buses, because of the price of buses."*

All Highland games rely on competitors, after all competition is a core theme of the events differentiated by a unique combination and that sets them apart from other music, dance or sporting competitive events.

It is interesting that at the outset of this project competitors were excluded in the research objectives mainly because it was considered that the study of competitors could be a separate research project. However, the inclusion of competitors in the dialogue is significant, not only do they appear to be travelling to multiple events, there is evidence of congenial social interaction between fellow competitors (Gibson, 1882; Grant, 1961; Ross, 2014) which

addresses event tourism and social bridging capital in answer to objective two and objective five.

7.4.2 Red tape bureaucracy and legislation

There are a number of elements that are beyond the control of the organisers such as the weather but legislation and bureaucracy can also impact on organising events and is highlighted as a concern by some respondents. The initial comment is from respondent 1:

> *…a real threat to the existence of Highland games is an ageing committee which I think we're all open to and maybe people getting swamped with legislation and rules and regulations. I mean, I could see a situation where if I've to do that, and that, and that, it's probably not going to be worth the bother if we're going to get tied in knots with insurance going up four times. …you could see a situation where some of the smaller ones (events) might say 'this isn't worth the bother.'*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

An opinion repeated by respondent 6 (Secretary) *"The red tape, it's going to kill a lot of the … …I mean, the things you've got to do… …the slightest wee thing… ...you've got to fill in a risk assessment'…"* Respondent 14 (Secretary) concurs *"… and health and safety is another. Health and safety are becoming very, very particular… It's more difficult."* Similar thoughts repeated by respondent 9 (Treasurer) who simply states *"Well, there are problems with legislation…"* Respondent 8 (Secretary) is equally succinct commenting *"…there is so much paperwork, really a lot of paperwork."*

It would appear the cost of bureaucracy may be the final determining factor when deciding to continue staging Highland games. Health and safety was a recurring concern as respondent 12 implies

> *I mean one of our major fears that we've all got is health and safety, insurance, you know… …I mean insurance premiums in about three years has trebled, but they've stabilised and last year it's roughly the same again. …at one point that was getting concerning because all we could actually see were finances being eroded.*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary)

Complying with legislation and competitors looking for ever larger prize money is putting a strain on the finances of the organisers and new legislation such as the immigration law endangered the participation of international competitors[40]. The Scottish Government instigated legislation which required Highland dancers to apply for a licence when transporting swords for the Ghillie Callum, or sword dance resulting in the Balquidder and Lochearnhead Highland Games to be cancelled in fear of breaching legislation[41] designed to control the carrying of knives (www.scotsman.com). These are typical of the external dilemmas faced by organising committees, although it appears that the most common source of contention for Highland games is the weather and generating enough revenue to ensure sustainability.

The *'interference'* by local authorities can be further demonstrated by a letter sent to a small Highland games event that has been held for over 200 years (Jamieson, 2014). An excerpt from a letter to Jamieson (n.p.) quoted *'…they (the local council) have discovered that we run an event that attracts more than three hundred people and we must now fill in a very large form in order to get a Public Performance License.'* This extra bureaucracy was required alongside the requirement that the dancing platform could not be higher than 600mm without a structural report which was addressed by removing the wheels from the platform (Jamieson, 2014). The organisers have to conform to such bureaucratic obligations and as suggested by some, if the financial burden becomes too great and there is no access to extra funding in times of need some of the games may not survive in times of hardship or when faced insurmountable challenges.

New legislation instigated by successive governments that result in changes to immigration and/or laws e.g. to control the carrying or transportation of knives may create problems for international competitor participation. It should be noted that many competitors travel with an entourage of family and friends and

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[40] Changes to the Asylum & Immigration Act 1996 with effect from 29th February, 2008 impacted on the ability to work in the UK had potential repercussions for pipe band and individual competitors based in some overseas countries to compete at Highland games collecting prize money

[41] The new legislation implemented by the Scottish Government implemented the Custodial Sentences and Weapons (Scotland) Act 2007

officials and the possibility that competitors might not travel could drastically reduce the level of event tourism taking place around Highland games.

7.4.3 Spectator interest and commercialisation

Of more general concern to the organisers is spectator attendance which is another crucial factor when raising finance for most events, as proposed by respondent 10 when asked about key concerns:

> *…lack of people coming through… …the economic squeeze. If it's not supported by people coming through the gate then we can't produce the prize money and I think it'll just fall down because it will be in a loss making situation.*
>
> (Respondent 10, Chairman)

Similar thoughts were echoed by respondent 8 (Secretary) *"I would say the lack of interest, from people coming in, visitors coming in through the gates… …to the games."* Respondent 5 raises similar concerns:

> *…the biggest threat is lack of interest (referring to local interest) and therefore lack of people through the gate, but there's different reasons for that, it might be because they don't really… …not interested in Highland games…*
>
> (Respondent 5, Treasurer)

Referring to the broader environment there was reference to the commercialisation of events as respondent 11 considers:

> *I think the biggest threat is commercialisation really… …all this guy's (commercial events) wanting big money and putting on what they think is a big show and taking the bulk of the monies so then you can't, the event does not become sustainable…. You can cope for a couple of years but not a lot if that goes on and on…*
>
> (Respondent 11, Secretary)

This refers to a few commercial events where the focus is on generating profit rather than community based events and the strong man focused events that attract funding from the public sector (EventScotland, 2009). A consideration supported by respondent 12 when commenting on commercial events:

> *…most of these (commercial) ones are probably taking money out of the games circuit rather than putting it in. …our major thing is trying to support the local area and that's vital, and you find the same at local games... …it's local games organised by local people for the locals. Yes, tourists will come and they'll be there, really the benefit is for the local area.*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary

There are a few Highland games that are operated on a commercial basis with profit as the main objective which follow quite a different ethos from the community events operated on a not-for-profit basis. Some thoughts on commercial events were offered by respondent 16:

> *…another point that comes out as a threat is these big heavily promoted commercial events sucking up the tourists… ….and money and competitors possible going to them, but on the other hand I think people want to come to Highland games and if there is a good one and its only a matter of having a good reputation and keeping that up, they can maybe handle it.*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

Reputation and event satisfaction were two main influencing factors that De Bres and Davis (2001) and Kaplanidou and Gibson (2010) found to encourage outsiders to become repeat visitors and an important source of revenue for the organisers.

Some of the rather unflattering comments cited by individuals involved in commercial events, that were aimed at Highland games in general (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5), elicited the following response from respondent 2:

> *…I wouldn't be critical of any of the games because they all had their own background and were established for a very good reason… …another circuit (the commercial circuit) that's run by the impresarios of the world… … Now, they are purely basically heavyweight events using world's strong men and that type of athlete which I would say is alien, absolutely alien to the ethos of Scottish Highland games. … (for them) It's about trying to make money… …I reckon that they have lost the plot completely that they don't recognise that games are essentially community events….*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

Based on the experience of the committee members it does appear the skills required are present due to the length of time some of the volunteers have been involved (Watt, 1998). The heart of the event for most respondents is the community and if the events were commercialised there is a sense this would no longer be the case as focus shifts to financial gain rather than social benefits.

There is encouragement in that whilst some existing events are struggling, there are new events and re-instated events emerging around the country such as the Helensburgh and Loch Lomond Highland Games and the Lorne Highland Games (see Appendix F for a current list of events). There are challenges that could in some part be minimised or eliminated, if the public sector had a greater understanding of the importance of Highland games for many local communities, and their collective contribution to event and tourism activity. A sustained level of cancelled events is evidence that some events have no option but to discontinue while other events may be in a very precarious position, underlining the fragile financial nature faced by the organisers.

7.4.4 A few bad years…

All the events in this study are organised on a not-for-profit basis with any profits re-invested in the site, equipment or other areas However, inclement weather can have a devastating impact on events particularly if there had been outgoing costs prior to the event being cancelled. When faced with the question of how long the event could run if cancelled on concurrent years, the response was overwhelmingly consistent. There were a number of events cancelled in 2012 due to a sustained period of rain leading to many locations affected by flooding. When the events are unable to operate and are cancelled there can be severe consequences for the organisers. When asked how long the event would survive if it had to be cancelled in two successive years the reply from all respondents was very similar.

Respondent 4 stated:

> *We're working basically from year to year, but we are attempting to get a large enough fund as such, to cover…. To prevent the recurrence of the previous committees' problems with finance*

> *really, ideally you need to have at least, at the very least about three year's money in the bank to cover for the bad years. That's what we're aiming for, we're trying to build up the funds to the extent that we can live with a couple of bad years when there's next to nothing in the way of income. But, you know, there could be quite significant expenditure even if the games are off, if it was a washout. We might get by on three years, just about… …depending on what we had to lay out.*
>
> (Respondent 4, Treasurer)

A similar response was elicited from respondent 7:

> *…if we get one bad year, although we have money in our account, but if we have one bad year that's it, we don't buy any new equipment, we can't because it's money that we need to run the next games. I reckon two years on the trot, I reckon we would be in deep trouble we would have to approach the bank and ask if we could get… ….money for prize money, money for insurance and things like that, how they would look at that I know but it is a real struggle.*
>
> (Respondent 7, Secretary)

Generally the organisers have to provide the equipment for the heavy event athletes and field athletics, ropes for the tug o' war and dancing platforms for the Highland dancers amongst others. It can be difficult to build up a reserve fund when the objective is socially orientated rather than economic. A point of view expressed by respondent 16:

> *…we have been trying to build up our reserves so that we can run at least one year with no income… …depending on the assumption you could make… …we could probably manage two years or possibly three from the reserves we've got.*
>
> (Respondent 16, Chairman)

Respondent 8 expands the issues of surviving bad weather:

> *…you don't get the same about of people going to the games now, I think that… …you've got to make the programme very attractive, the prize money very big. And, if it's bad weather, and you don't get people through the gate, you make a loss. I mean we made a big loss last year and two years before that I had to cancel because of bad weather, we had rain, hail, sleet, snow, thunder and lightning all in one day.*
>
> (Respondent 8, Secretary)

Meanwhile, respondent 13 states:

> *…but the last four years we've made losses unfortunately just down to inclement weather…. Last year it rained from first thing in the morning to just after lunchtime. …if we had another bad one this year and the council weren't there to help out, then that would be it.*
>
> (Respondent 13, Chairman)

It is in situations such as these when the organisers are in dire need of access to some form of finance to ensure the events can continue. Some organisers have been supported by the local councils although many of the organisers indicate the Scottish Government should have some form of financial package in place for games that have suffered adverse weather leading to cancellations, and the loss of revenue. The reality is that events rarely fail due to mismanagement but are often influenced by some other extenuating factors that are beyond the control of the organisers such as inclement weather. Or as the Peebles event organisers encountered when the event was cancelled in 2013 due to the local council draining the parkland (The Royal Burgh of Peebles Highland Games Association, 2013). When the field or arena is not owned by the event there is little control over what may happen to the land. The demise of the Callander event was finalised when the damage to the land caused by the event was taking too long (for the landowner) to recover (personal communication, 2015).

Furthermore, the recession was the reason given for the cancellation of Stirling Highland Games in 2009 (The Telegraph, 2009) while the cancellation of Stonehaven Highland Games in 2013 was cited for undisclosed reasons (Urquhart, 2013). The Stonehaven Highland Games was re-instated in 2014 after a grant of £1,613 was offered by local councillors (Parry, 2014) as a contribution towards the newly re-established two day event. This figure is an indication of how relatively small contributions can make a difference, particularly when many events operate with moderate budgets (see Chapter 5).

The longest any of the events indicated surviving a series of cancellations was proposed by respondent 11:

> *Well, we reckon we could possibly last about four years but we would fund raise, we would have to because, I mean we've had it called off twice, the last time wasn't so long ago due to weather, it was lashing*[42]*…*
>
> (Respondent 11, Secretary)

The probability of staging the event after three successive years of cancellations was proffered by respondent 8:

> *It depends what time they were cancelled… … you couldn't run them for more than three years. Well, we're keeping going but just because I've managed to get some external funding, we haven't much money left.*
>
> (Respondent 8, Secretary)

With the remainder suggesting it would not be possible to run the events after two consecutive years of cancellations. Exemplified by respondent 10 (Chairman) who contemplates *"Two seasons. Well, we have a kitty and that's about all we could last." A* similar response proffered by respondent 5 (Treasurer) *"Two years max. Two years maximum*" and respondent 9 (Treasurer) was a little less optimistic *"…would survive two years' bad weather I doubt it."* Finally respondent 15 surmised:

> *…as it was before, two years and that would be it finished. You might struggle by one year and frantically chase up sponsorship, after that… …finished because it definitely takes quite a bit of money to set up.*
>
> (Respondent 15, Treasurer)

This was the final result for Montrose Highland Games following two straight years of bad weather, the event was terminated with reasons cited as *'rising costs, unpredictable weather and red tape'* (The Courier, 2013). This was an event first staged in 1859 although there was a gap between 1929 and 1979 when the event was resurrected (The Courier, 2013) which illustrates the fragile nature of these events. However Montrose Highland Games and Heavy Horse Show was re-instated in 2014 (Travel Scotland, 2014) after a short break of a few years although, the event does not appear to be scheduled for 2015.

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[42] A colloquial Scottish term for raining very heavily

Respondent 1 contemplates the role some media play in not supporting Highland games:

> *…the journalists are trying to jump on the bandwagon, one games disappeared last year… …they're always trying to put words in your mouth, you know, 'is this the demise of Highland games then?' I mean I think Highland games will be here for a long, long time yet… …you know you lose one and another pops up.*
>
> (Respondent 1, Chairman)

There is no control over the weather and, as an outdoor event, is susceptible particularly when the parks or fields become flooded. Many of the competitions can take place when it is raining although the biggest threat is for the Highland dancers if the stage is uncovered, which most of them are, due to the dancing platforms becoming slippery when wet.

There have been some negative comments directed towards the voluntary organised Highland games which respondent 2 commented on in relation to Highland games being tired:

> *I think that comment has completely missed the point of Highland games, it's not a circus, it's about low key community events and there are some outstanding games in Scotland that incorporate all that he says with good commentators good crowd interaction, the whole lot, but you cannot have that at all the games, you know, it takes a lot of money to establish, it takes a lot of time, as I say Highland games are community events and are low key demonstrating all the good points at local community and that's how they've existed for years and will still exist after… … and all them (Highland games) have gone, and we, ourselves are gone. These games will go on because of the ethos of it as a community event.*
>
> (Respondent 2, Expert)

There have been many negative comments on symbols synonymous with Scotland such as tartan denigrated as unsuitable as a representative symbol of Scotland (see Section 2.5 for further discussion). The organisers of modern Highland games did not set out to use tartan, kilts and bagpipes as promotional tools to boost international appeal, rather it was themes inherited from around the 1820s that have become synonymous with Scotland, as commented by respondent 12:

> *The concern is… …you hope people will still enjoy the traditional things you know, that's got to be a fear, will they always enjoy that? An awful lot of folk go to the games, because you know, it is traditional, you won't get the same crowd going to … …how many people do you get going to a top amateur athletic event in Glasgow? A few hundred, I mean we're continually knocking the kilt and shortbread and things like that in Scotland but these are selling features and it seems crazy to wipe them off the face of the earth.*
>
> (Respondent 12, Secretary)

The findings suggest many organisers plan on a year by year basis, simultaneously trying to financially sustain the events and adding to the reserve funds. Most organisers imply that if events have to be cancelled due to inclement weather, there would be enough money to sustain the event for two years without access to additional funding. Some of the challenging issues are beyond the control of the organisers such as bureaucracy and the cost of travelling. In this section the importance of rising travel costs was in relation to competitor travel but equally may impact on the travel decisions of spectators.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has defined some of the challenges faced by contemporary committees with many stalwart in the view that the events are run for the community by the community. There is a diverse nature of internal and external challenges faced by organisers across the country that are connected with the individual and collective issues related to the third objective. Typically there are some universal threats such as the weather, bureaucracy and legislation, however a recurring theme is the difficulty some events encounter in their quest to attract new and younger committee members. The one key area that is absolutely crucial is to introduce new members to the committee, with the intention that more experienced organisers can pass on their knowledge or expertise prior to retiring, thereby ensuring valuable knowledge remains within the committee. It is one area under the control of the organisers and perhaps may need an honest reflection of the reasons why they are unable to recruit new members.

Income generating activities are mostly centred around the success of the event on the day however there is evidence of some local authorities providing financial assistance. The level of support varies between local authorities and is minimal or non-existent from central government. Perhaps this is an indication of the inability of the government to recognise Highland games as a sporting, heritage or cultural event that could provide access to a direct income stream (Ross, 2011) from the Department of Culture, the Department for External Affairs, Energy, Enterprise or Tourism and Commonwealth Games and Sport (Scottish Government). There is growing evidence of the challenges faced by organisers of Highland games which is mostly placed on generating enough income to ensure sustainability. Central government has been slow in offering any kind of financial assistance although there are other aspects that may impinge on the success of Highland games that are beyond the control of the organisers or central government.

This chapter set out to address objectives two, three and five. The findings suggest that the travelling patterns of competitors do indeed show evidence of links to event tourism, mainly due to the presence of international competitors and the suggestion is that when competing at events in Scotland international competitors follow a circuit to compete at multiple Highland games.

Objective three explored the wider Highland games' environment alongside individual events to identify some of the key internal and external challenges. It is interesting to note that most of the challenges emanate from outside the control of the organisations and although some of the events have been running for around two hundred years, when financial problems arise through no fault of the organisers it appears to be problematic to access financial support. The majority of the content discussed in this chapter addresses the internal and mostly external challenges facing the volunteer organisers.

Objective five was designed to determine if there was evidence of social capital at Highland games. There does appear to be evidence of very strong links between many organisers and the local community and there were frequent occasions when the conversations reverted back to community, emphasised as the focal point of the Highland games. Not only do the games support local charities when they can, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of the

community for the events leading to strong relationships associated with bonding social capital.

There is some suggestion that events centrally placed within community are most likely to survive difficult times through community support rather than reliance on profiteering from commercial events. There is a sense of community strength advocated by Blackshaw (2009), Burt (2000) and Coleman (1988) more so in small villages, or urban environments where strong social networks foster mutual obligations between people as proposed by Harlambos and Holborn (2008) and Mohan and Mohan (2002) associated with group membership (Bourdieu, 1985; Burt, 2000; Giddens and Sutton, 2009; Halpern, 2005). The suggestion that event organisers are equally welcoming to tourists and visitors demonstrates evidence of bridging social capital as proposed by Bourdieu (1985), Giddens and Sutton (2009), Harris (1998), O'Sullivan (2012), Portes (1988) and Torche and Valenzuela (2011).

The organisers not only have to contend with adverse weather but negotiating legislation and contesting elements that may impact on the event and spectacle is likely to be an ongoing process as successive governments continue to re-shape the endeavours of previous administrations. In order to develop the understanding of Highland games the findings have been discussed independently. In the conclusions chapter to follow, themes and topics present from more than one data set are be brought together through triangulation and deliberated to unify the findings for greater depth of reliability and validity.

The previous three chapters have discussed the findings from three distinct data sets and although the findings have been discussed separately there is some triangulation of recurring themes particularly between the two sets of information gathered from the organisers, i.e. the first and third phases. Local charities benefit when surplus funds are generated and the support from international competitors which was revealed in the second phase of data collection.

8 Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis was to capture a broad range of data and conceptualise a number of the many elements and attributes of Highland games to develop a greater understanding of the complex dimensions of the events. Individuals present at Highland games cross many social and cultural boundaries resulting in an eclectic mix of heterogeneous audiences sharing experiences through a common interest of Highland games. In an evolving nation where disparate communities live within the same community, local events are recognised as a means of unifying socially diverse and culturally different societies together through events.

The objective of this chapter is to bring together the main conclusions and respond to the five objectives set out at the beginning of this thesis. The research question and objectives are answered and key findings presented. First of all the chapter addresses each objective by bringing together the key themes of the thesis, thereafter the main conclusions derived from the findings of the research are presented and the conceptual framework (Figure 8.1) re-visited and updated in relation to the findings of this study. Following this, the overall originality and contribution to literature and the study is placed within academic and applied contexts. The study is placed within an applied context to draw attention to stakeholders who may benefit or have particular interest in this study before addressing the limitations. Finally, the implications and future research directions conclude the chapter.

The overall aim of the thesis was to present the first national evaluation of a Scottish Highland games survey in an effort to gain an understanding of the extent of the events across Scotland and links with tourism activity. This was to be achieved by providing unique insights from the perspectives of organisers and the spectators surveyed across multiple events. The inclusion of data provided by competitors is highly significant disclosing unexpected insights into the travel patterns of both domestic and overseas competitors (see Chapter 6).

To understand the role of Highland games in local communities and contribution to Scotland's event tourism a mixed methods study created three distinct

research scopes revealing characteristics of multi-national appeal co-existing alongside robust community affiliations and social cohesion. Scoping the extent and scale of Highland games in Scotland from the perspectives of organisers and spectators developed an unparalleled study in terms of comprehensive evaluation and expansive content.

The aims and objectives are detailed in Chapter 1, Figure 1.1 along with key research questions. The first objective was to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland, the second to investigate if Highland games contribute to event tourism. The third objective explored internal and external challenges faced by the organisers, the fourth objective explored the socio-demographic characteristics of the spectators, and the final objective investigating for evidence of social capital creation at Highland games.

The conceptual framework (Figure 1.2) illustrated the potential links between the source of information and key themes. The solid lines depicted in Figure 1.2 determine potential and expected sources and links from the organisers and the spectators with the events. The solid lines are related to the known source of information whereas the broken lines predict the expected source of information associated with the five objectives. The organisers are directly linked with the internal and external challenges and the spectators with the socio-demographic characteristics of the audience.

Although the data sets were analysed independently, there were recurring themes across the data sets through triangulation of the data and, although not directly integrated, the interchangeable distinct data sets exposed the complexities generated when exploring the events from different dimensions. What is apparent is evidence of social capital creation which informs the theoretical foundation in the form of bonding social capital between social groups and associated members of Highland games. Further, bridging social capital is present at events where the differences related to socio-demographic characteristics suggest the presence of bridging social capital across a heterogeneous audience that is geographically distant and extended to international competitors who may be competing at multiple events. Some travelling individuals were returning to familiar surroundings, re-affirming social bonds, re-connecting and reacquainting with relatives and friends, others using

the event as an opportunity to catch up socially with community members contributing to community social cohesion and well-being (Sharpley and Stone, 2012). There is a presence of bonhomie at the events, which crosses cultural diversity, and spans all social classifications when individuals are unified at a particular point in time through a shared interest in Highland games.

8.1.1 Objective one – to establish the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland

The first objective was addressed by collecting data from the organising committees where the survey was designed to determine and present the findings on the extent and structure of Highland games in Scotland. This was a fact finding exercise to explore the size and scope of events, geographical location and general management and financial matters. The data collected formed the groundwork and shaped the next two phases of data collection and was the only data collecting exercise that contributed to the first objective. The findings are important to contextualise the events within Scotland in order to understand the diversity of the events in size and scale. That some events have existed for more than 200 years is testament to the community support that has allowed the events to survive over such a long period. The managerial and operational issues offer understanding of the formal structure and financial issues. The events varied in size between less than 1,500 members of the audience to over 12,000 which has implications for budgets and operational issues. Most of the events indicated reliance on some level of sponsorship.

8.1.2 Objective two – to explore if Scotland's Highland games can contribute to event tourism in Scotland

The findings from all three phases of data collection contributed to the second objective to explore for evidence of event tourism activity around Highland games. The findings firmly place Highland games within the themes of culture and sport by the majority of respondents, and there is an opportunity to capitalise on this to harness tourist spending.

A succession of events staged from the middle of May to the middle of September during peak tourist season, was found to appeal to both domestic

and international tourists. Scotland's Highland games are staged throughout Scotland with events scheduled during weekends as well as some week days throughout summer, providing numerous opportunities for tourists to experience the events. The ability and strength of the Highland games brand should not be underestimated. The findings indicate their ability to mobilise day visitors and contribute to event tourism, when members of the audience, competitors and VFRs indicate repeat visitation and attendance at multiple events in the same season.

Not only do these events appeal to domestic athletes, dancers and pipers, but international competitors are also present at many events and if travelling a *'circuit',* will be travelling across Scotland to compete at multiple events. It is not only individual competitors travelling to events, but in many cases there is an accompanying entourage of other competitors (i.e. pipe bands or groups of Highland dancers), family members and others working in an official capacity. A quarter of the respondents resided in overseas countries, and 13% of the audience resided in the UK outside Scotland, which is unequivocal evidence of event tourism activity taking place around Highland games. The research uncovered some interesting findings related to domestic tourism and VFR activity. The findings suggest evidence of domestic tourism and there was a significant amount of VFR activity associated with the events, further evidence of event tourism at national level.

A total of 91.6% of the audience were aware of the events prior to arriving although 36% expressed it was their first visit to a Highland games in Scotland, which implies prior knowledge of the events. The findings also suggest repeat visitation activity by UK and international travellers which is highly significant in terms of cultural and economic contribution.

Collectively Highland games contribute significantly to Scotland's event and tourism industry in contrast to the findings of DTZ Research (2007) who suggest Highland games are a minority sport with low numbers of competitor participation.

8.1.3 Objective three – to explore the individual and collective challenges facing volunteers in sustaining Highland games

The third objective was exclusively addressed by data collected in the third phase by conducting a set of in-depth interviews with organisers and experts associated with Highland games. A number of challenging situations were encountered by the organisers when staging annual Highland games. Some of the challenges were beyond the control of the organisers such as the weather, which has the potential to decrease visitor and spectator numbers, and can have serious consequences on not-for-profit events working with small financial margins.

Public sector support was criticised by some of the respondents as insufficient, particularly when events may struggle for money, not by mismanaging events but due to adverse weather or other factors outside the control of the organisers that may diminish spectator numbers, or lead to cancellations. Currently, neither central government nor national tourism and event organisations involve Highland games in event or tourism strategies for Scotland.

Unfortunately many of the challenges faced by the organisers of Highland games emerge from local authorities and national government, mainly when attempting to source funding from the public sector. The findings of this research replicate those of DTZ Research (2007) where the main issue is the lack of a central governing body as the events currently do not *'fit'* the remit of many funding bodies. The formal structure of government departments exacerbates the difficulty of placing Highland games within an appropriate department. Especially since tourism, culture and sport sit with three different ministers i.e. Minister for Culture and External Affairs, the Minister for Energy, Enterprise and Tourism and the Minister for Commonwealth Games and Sport. It appears that since Highland games sit somewhere between culture, heritage and sport they are bureaucratically invisible, as successive politicians and national event and tourism agencies fail to recognise the value of the events (BBC, 2010; Jarvie 2003a; Respondents 1, 2, 5, 7, 12, 13 and 16, 2008; Ross, 2011,).

This seeming inability to place Highland games within a central government department exacerbates the challenge faced by organisers when seeking financial assistance. A recommendation by DTZ Research in 2007 was to build a stronger structure for easier access to funding by locally run events although this does not appear to have been implemented at this time. As proposed by Gibson (1998), better integration and co-ordination of sport and tourism is required within the Cabinet. Changing legislation adds some concerns particularly when increasing bureaucracy involves added financial burdens which impacts on already slender financial margins (Respondents, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12 and 14, 2008).

Arguably, the most important challenge is attracting new committee members to work alongside existing members and to take over in the future. Many committee members have been on committees for more than twenty years with indications suggesting that indeed some would leave if there was a suitable replacement to take on their roles and responsibilities. It would seem that commitment to the committee and organising the events prevents some members from leaving when no-one is available to take their place as found by Respondents 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 14 and 15 (2008). This situation can only continue for a limited period and unless committee numbers are stabilised or increased through growing membership there may be a time in the future when the dwindling numbers of committee members may feel they can no longer continue. The findings suggest that most events have some difficulty in attracting new committee members.

8.1.4 Objective four – To explore the socio-demographic and cultural characteristics of spectators

Very little is known about the composition of the audiences present at Highland games and in order to address this lack of knowledge the second phase of data was collected from the spectators at fifteen events across the country. The purpose was to gain an understanding of audiences, not only in terms of age and cultural background, but also to discover some of the social attributes associated with group composition and participation. The discovery that all social classifications were present and the composition of groups included family groups with children of all ages and groups of friends is significant.

Understanding the composition of the audience and appealing attributes of the events is important for organisers and promoters of the events. Equally important is the extent of local support which is crucial for the events to remain viable operations.

The audiences at Highland games originate from a variety of social and cultural backgrounds suggesting extensive appeal across a broad socio-cultural spectator base. The appeal extended across all age groups where games were seen to attract family groups with young and older children, groups of friends, partners and individuals. However, family groups represented the largest sector. There were 45 countries represented at the events which is significant in relation to cultural diversity and, a substantial sector of the respondents comprised of D and E social classifications although all social classifications were present crossing all social divides.

Unlike many community events the findings indicate approximately 25% of respondents are international tourists providing unequivocal evidence of the ability of Highland games to appeal to a much broader spectator base than the local community.

8.1.5 Objective five – to determine if Highland games contribute to building social capital

The findings from all three data sets contributed to evidence of social capital within the organising committees, between the organisers and local communities. Evidence of international and domestic tourism activity is further evidence of building social capital across geographically different groups sharing a similar interest in Highland games. Further, there is evidence of repeat visitation by international and domestic tourists which may correspond to place attachment for VFRs or reacquainting and reconnecting with friends. Highland games influence social cohesion and play an important role building social capital within communities through the unification of communities sharing a common interest.

A variation of Scottish respondents that was particularly noticeable emerged from the socialisation opportunities at events, resulting in some key differences

between Scotland UK and international respondents. Scottish respondents rated the socialisation content more important than other UK or international respondents. One of the reasons may be attributed to returning friends and relatives, and Scottish residents who view the Highland games as a meeting place where socialisation may be more important than other event elements

Community based events attract a broad section of society acting as a focus for social integration and promoting the spirit of egalitarianism, which is an important feature of civil society (Jarvie, 2003a). Many voluntary organisers were stalwart in their high levels of commitment and participation where mutual trust and reciprocity reveal the value of co-ordinated voluntary support often found within membership clubs and associations (cf. Seippel, 2006). Although this was evident by the permanence of some committee members, elements of exclusion were determined through the inability to attract new younger individuals to join committees (Halpern, 2005).

For those unable or unwilling to become involved in Highland games the outcome may relate to a degree of social exclusion. The findings indicate that there is a need to break the cycle of retaining existing members for unusually long terms in order to encourage more members to join, although this is likely to be challenging for most of the committees. Another issue may be community members who are simply not interested in Highland games or perceive the events to be something other than they are, for example, perceived to be events *'for farmers'* (personal communication, 2010).

Moving beyond the assumption of a general positive effect of membership, there is an argument that sport and community event interaction can play a role in the exclusion of individuals who may choose not to become a member or feel they do not belong to a specific *'community'*. Except for the difficulties tempting new committee members, this research has shown that there was no real evidence of exclusivity at Highland games. There are numerous portrayals of Highland games as friendly environments where individuals congregate on an equal footing irrespective of background or age according to Gibson (1961), McCall Smith (2013) and Jamieson, 2014).

8.2 Conclusions derived from these findings

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this study. There are approximately 95 Highland games staged in Scotland each year, they are vulnerable to the vagaries of Scottish weather while operating as not-for-profit events that can lead to financial difficulties if successive events have to be cancelled. At any given time the number of events may fluctuate from year to year, as some events cease to exist and others emerge as new events or re-instated events.

Regional cultural traditions have come under pressure to remain economically viable and Highland games are a living tradition and a vital part of Scotland's culture that, collectively, contribute significantly to events and tourism in Scotland. The events have broad appeal for both domestic and international tourists and collectively can attract substantial levels of international competitor participation. One of the unique aspects of the events is the variation in size, competitive content and geographical location which ensures individuality and uniqueness of events (see Table 6.7). Highland games are valued as much for enjoyment as their power to attract tourists and visitors (Tranter, 1998).

For many, the events are an important part of the community social calendar where families and acquaintances re-unite and reconfirm relationships and recreating a sense of community (Carnegie and Smith, 2009), (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1.5 for a detailed discussion on VFR activity). The unification of communities from diverse ages and cultural backgrounds extols the benefits of the games. Certainly there are many accounts of Highland games bringing communities together, and the view of the respondents is that, first and foremost the events are for the local residents (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1). The importance of the community support is illustrated in Table 6.3 indicating the local support and VFR presence accounts for nearly 30% of the spectators.

However, the findings indicate that all visitors and tourists are welcome which is reflected in the substantial numbers of UK and international tourists present at the events. Although the view of the organisers is firstly the community, the organisers are well aware of the importance of the events to a wider audience (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1 for further discussion).

Collectively the events are attracting high numbers of day visitors, domestic and international tourists to Scotland adding value to the tourist experience, as illustrated in Figure 6.3, just under half the spectators were on holiday. Figure 6.6 draws attention to the nearly 40% of the audience that are normally resident in the UK or are international tourist. The tourist and visitor numbers are highly significant to highlight the appeal of the events from outside Scotland.

The core competitive elements of music, dance and indigenous sport remain, however every event has evolved over time ensuring a range of unique experiences across the country. Highland games provide an opportunity for the celebration of honest traditions and indigenous sport, forming an authentic tourism product to create unique visitor experiences. However, the continuous debate regarding the merits of tartan as a promotional tool and by association has the potential to denigrate Highland games (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5 for further discussion). Just because many of the competitors wear tartan, that should not detract from the entertainment on offer at these events; it is not necessarily about articulating identity, more about socialising, entertainment and enjoyment. All things considered, Highland games are not about national identity, they are about community and indigenous sport and music. The most appealing competitive activities are activities mostly associated with Highland games with bagpipe music the most popular, followed by the heavy events and Highland dancers (see Table 6.47 for a full list).

Essential components of Highland games are the volunteer organisers who are community focused placing the events at the heart of the community. It is the commitment of volunteers that ensure the events continue even with the general lack of support from central government and as promoted by UNESCO (2011) indigenous sport forms the backbone of many communities (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3 for further discussion). This research demonstrates the value and worth to society provided by Highland games. When events fail due to external challenges such as cancellations related to adverse weather there is no central support fund that could be accessed to prevent the cessation of events in financial difficulties (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4 for further discussion).

Perpetuated by the idea that Highland games consist only of Highland dancing and bagpipe music the opportunities for track and field athletes could be

promoted to encourage healthy exercise and increase competitor numbers. Athletes of all abilities and age groups can compete at Highland games and provide an opportunity for younger less experienced athletes to develop their skills. Some of the analysis reveals evidence that the competitors and the competitive element of these events have a large part to play in event appeal and is an area that could be explored further. Within this research the competitors were not the focus but clearly have an immensely important role to play as a core entertainment feature. Competitors and individuals accompanying competitors represented 19% of the respondents which is a significant proportion that may be travelling to more than one event (see Figure 6.3 and Section 6.4 for further discussion).

Highland games are not all encompassing in terms of fostering social interaction, although the positive socio-cultural and economic contributions across Scotland should not be undervalued. The events are universal in appeal across society with respondents of all ages and social backgrounds recorded as attendees providing evidence of social capital creation by bringing individuals together at Highland games (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3 for further discussion). Contributing value and worth to society, social capital is manifested through the process of organising events and the interaction between organisers through mutual co-operation and support. Highland games are not staged specifically to generate profit for individuals but rather to generate sufficient income to continue in future years. Nevertheless there are likely to be wide reaching economic benefits generated by the attendance of visitors and tourists travelling to multiple events across the country. Chapter 6, Section 6.4 draws attention to the extent of travel and repeat visitation.

This research helps to build a composite assessment of Highland games across Scotland. Whilst the figures provide some indication of the appeal of the activities taking place, in order to gather a more detailed account it would be necessary to identify which activities were present at what level at individual events. A study of competitive events combined with competitor activity could generate data focused entirely on competition, and a broader study could include trade stands, entertainment booths and other key features would offer an additional perspective to the events.

The events cross age and social boundaries and are a popular option for families, locals, VFRs, day visitors and tourists. There are 103 current events listed (see Appendix F) located in rural and urban areas (see Table 6.9) offering a wide variety of options across the country. The cultural context will appeal to cultural tourists, the sporting, dancing and bagpipe content for those interested in culture, sport and music. The events stimulate relatively high levels of repeat visitation (see Table 6.27) and offer an understated opportunity for social cohesion within communities across the country. The competitor activity stimulates event tourism as does the presence of UK and international spectators. There is also evidence of domestic tourism activity around the Highland games (see Table 6.10). The events have much to offer in content, entertainment value, socialising opportunities and competition that broad appeal is unsurprising.

The conceptual framework in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1) indicated that information from organisers or spectators was expected to answer the objective themes. As expected the findings derived from the organising committees and individual organisers provided data on the formation of Highland games and the internal and external challenges. The findings also provide evidence of event tourism activity through the presence of international, UK and domestic tourists and competitors. The presence of bonding social capital was found in the organisational support for individual committee members and community by financial donations to local charities and the community as central to the ethos of Highland games. Bridging social capital was less evident however, the presence of international spectators and competitors suggest evidence of bridging social capital in the form of residents of distant geographic locations converging in the same place through common interests. Bridging social capital may also be created by returning tourists seeking to reacquaint with other travellers and locals.

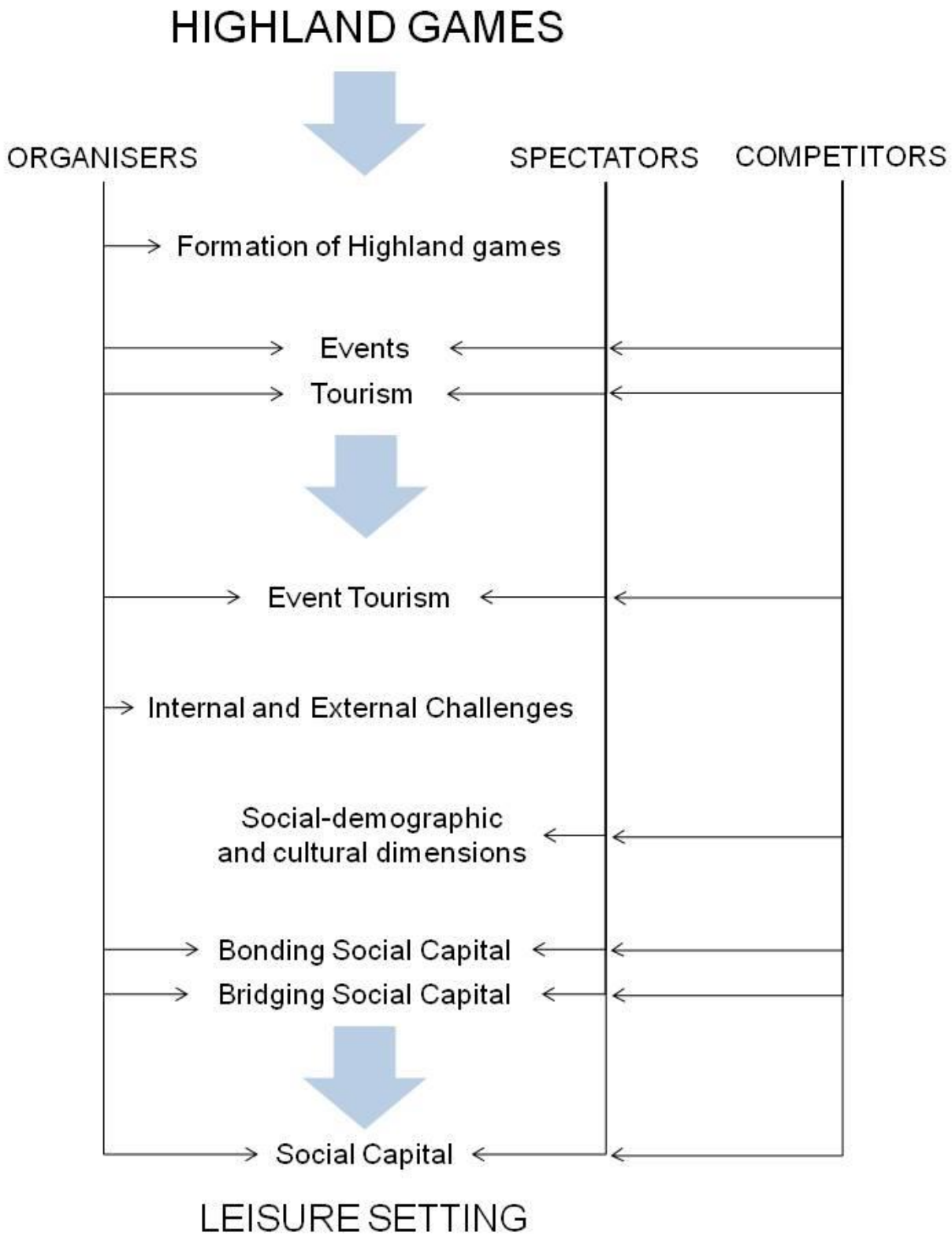
The spectators provide evidence of event tourism activity determined by international spectators and other indications of domestic tourism. The socio-demographic data was collected directly from the surveys and evidence of bonding social capital was identified within social groups and bridging social

capital through the interest in Highland games uniting diverse socio-demographic groups.

The competitor category had to be added due to the information collected by competitors and accompanying groups. Competitors were not targeted as part of the population and obvious competitors were not approached however, the data captured is invaluable and provides evidence of event tourism activity, socio-demographic and cultural dimensions. The presence of international competitors and the social groups accompanying competitors provides evidence of bonding and bridging social capital respectively.

Therefore the broken lines presented in the revised conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 1.1 are now solid to indicate the source of information and contribution to each of the objective themes which clearly links the source of information related to the objectives.

Figure 8. 1 Conceptual Framework



(Source: author)

8.3 Originality and contribution

This study set out to explore Highland games to develop a better understanding of these cultural events in the twenty-first century. The key objectives were to scope the scale of events and explore socio-demographic and cultural dimensions within an indigenous sporting theme. The study contends that Highland games have potential to make significant contributions directly and indirectly through the formation of social capital. Unlike other research involving Highland games in Scotland that are restricted to specific geographical regions (Knox, 2003) or limited to social considerations of Highland games communities (Jarvie, 2003a), this study is only limited by the usual time and budgetary constraints. This study was conducted nationwide encompassing perspectives from audience members and organising committees. The data sets provide new information to provide previously unexplored insights.

As the study has emphasised, research conducted on Highland games in Scotland is scarce. This data collection across multiple organisations and multiple events is the first comprehensive research of its kind conducted in Scotland. The findings provide a unique insight into operational challenges from the perspective of the organisers and small and medium sized community events. Neither of these topics has commanded high levels of academic inquiry. As found in this study, small voluntary run not-for-profit events may not be considered of great importance for funding bodies, however, when the events are amalgamated across Scotland the social and economic impacts generated are significant. Perhaps more crucially, collectively the events generate substantially to many rural communities and the Scottish economy. Highland games have been heralded as the second largest spectator sport in Scotland (www.heraldscotland.com), and it is thought that with in excess of 150,000 spectators are attracted to Highland games generating two million pounds to the Scottish economy (Ross, 2011).

8.3.1 Contribution to literature

The significance of small and medium events adds to event and tourism literature pertaining to indigenous sports and culturally themed events which has been somewhat neglected in favour of major and mega sporting events.

This study not only adds to sports events and event tourism literature but equally contributes to the increasingly studied area of social capital and community based cultural events that partly define nations and distinct culture. Many small and medium community not-for-profit events are largely neglected and overlooked, and are perhaps not considered large enough or important enough to deliver impacts worth noting. Academic attention on events tends to favour large and mega event studies.

This study has attempted to redress the balance and includes a study of organisers which has had limited academic attention. In addition, further contributions to academic literature are associated with, VFR activity and volunteer organisers with the findings in this study contributing to the work of Darcy et al., (2014), O'Sullivan et al., (2008) and Zakus et al., (2009) who conducted studies with organisers of local sport and community events.

Except for DTZ Research (2007) and Brewster et al., (2009) there is very little academic literature pertaining to Highland games that includes primary data collection from spectators or organisers. In this respect, the findings in this study are significant and add a body of knowledge that might well stimulate further interest and research attention. There is a lack of academic research associated with rural events which this research contributes to alongside authors such as Alves and Cerro (2010), Ekman (1999), Gibson and Connell (2011), Mitchell (2006), O'Sullivan et al., 2008), Tonts (2005), Ziakas (2007) and Ziakas and Costa (2010).

There is some debate surrounding the ability of local community events to appeal to international tourists although as found by Getz (2011), small community events can appeal to the tourist market. However, with the inclusion of cultural content the findings suggest tourist appeal from both domestic and international tourists. Similar studies conducted by Arcodia and Whitford (2008), Donlon et al., (2010), Getz (2013), Saleh and Ryan (1993), Schofield and Thompson (2007), Smith and Forrest (2009) found that events with a cultural theme have heightened appeal for tourists. Culture and indigenous sport are central themes to this study, and adds to both sets of literature. Although there is a large body of literature on cultural events, there has been

very little academic inquiry on indigenous events (Mair and Whitford, 2013) therefore, this study is of some importance to indigenous events literature.

In common with Chhabra et al., (2003), Derrett (2003), Light (1996), Schofield and Thompson (2007) and Wilks (2012) Highland games were found to re-unite families and acquaintances within an event environment. Individuals returning to the location of the event may have a similar emotional attachment found by Gibson (1998) re-enforcing connections and heightening the concept of community described by Carnegie and Smith (2009) and Rojek (2010). The findings in this research indicate VFR activity and evidence of repeat visitation in connection with international tourism. The connection with VFR activity and repeat visitation has been highlighted; therefore the content of this study may contribute, in some part, to repeat visit and VFR activity associated with events, adding to the limited body of knowledge associated with these two themes.

The diverse socio-demographic variations provide further indications of the presence of social capital, within an environment where known individuals and strangers come together through shared interests as proposed by Burt (2000), Field (2003), Halpern (2005) and Torche and Valanzuela (2011). In contrast to the suggestions of Donaldson (1986) and Ray (2001), who suggest that some form of segregation was in place to separate the social élite from the other spectators. In many cases the findings suggest evidence of local support although this is not consistent across all events (Respondents 5 and 8, 2008). The contribution by competitors was serendipitous, offering a unique insight into the travelling culture associated with competitors and related groups.

The findings suggest evidence of local support and the creation of social capital, which was found between the organisers and local community through Highland games contributing to local charities (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3). The support is reciprocated when members of the community support the events. Evidence within organising committees was substantiated through the support systems in place for other committee members, common with trust and reciprocity connected to social capital and group associations found in the writings of Bourdieu (1985), Coleman (1998), Giddens and Sutton (2009), Halpern (2005), O'Sullivan et al., (2008) and Rojek (2005). Halpern's (2005) network, norms and sanctions concept was aptly applied to Highland games. All social

classifications and age groups were well represented in this research alongside a culturally diverse audience. The academic interest in associations with sports events and social capital is extensive, although the contribution by this study is more pertinent to the community aspect of the events associated with small and medium sized events which is an area lacking academic inquiry.

This unique study adds to the literature associated with the key topics of indigenous culture, community events as small and medium sized events and the organisers. Highland games are very much associated with rural events therefore, there are contributions to Highland games and rural event literature, as well as VFR activity, travel patterns and repeat visitation. Finally, the association with community, sports themed events contributes to the interest between events and social capital.

8.3.2 Academic context

The academic field of interest in Scotland's Highland games lacks contribution at national level although DTZ Research (2007) and Reynolds (2011) provide some insights. This is a singular study contributing directly to the academic field of Scotland's Highland games by conducting extensive primary research in the form of surveys and interviews. Community events with an indigenous sporting context have been a neglected subject area for academics. This research is set within event studies with culture, community, tourism, social capital and indigenous sport associated themes.

The social capital theoretical base is drawn from established social sciences literature contributing to the growing academic interest in sports events and social capital. Jarvie (2003) has directly associated social capital with Highland games.

This study set out to explore Highland games as small or regional community volunteer operated events increasing the paucity of research conducted at community level. This is a significant contribution based on the findings of a series of primary research projects increasing knowledge of the importance of community events in developing social capital with associated members, individuals and groups

8.3.3 Applied context

This study contributes to academic research and has some significance within an applied context in Scotland. The tourism industry in Scotland generates an annual visitor spend of £4.5 billion (Tourism 2020, 2012) following a strategy to grow 50% by 2020. To achieve this figure business leaders and public sector agencies rely on unique aspects of Scotland, its culture and heritage and indigenous sport to attract visitors and tourists. With increasingly sophisticated consumer demand there is a drive to move away from single attractions as the highlight of a visit to a more encompassing experience, turning tourism assets into quality visitor experiences (Scottish Tourism Alliance, 2013). With support from central government EventScotland and VisitScotland are key agencies in funding, supporting and promoting events and tourism.

Coinciding with the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow and the Ryder Cup at Gleneagles in Scotland, 2014, the tag was for Scotland to *'Welcome the World'* in a bid to boost tourism through a year long programme of events and activities across the country. Local authorities and businesses were encouraged to create or promote regular events as part of the Year of Homecoming 2014 to highlight the singular and unique aspects of Scotland. Highland games are scheduled annually, using existing infrastructure and organised by experts. The events are distributed across the country throughout the summer season and, with the association with culture, indigenous sport and bagpipe music, everything is already in place to attract tourists (see Table 6.10).

Culture can be unique and specific to an area, country or region and is often capitalised upon to increase tourist numbers to a destination (denoted by the inception of European capitals of culture in 1985 (http://ec.europa.eu/) hosted by Glasgow in 1990 and Liverpool in 2008. The contribution to tourism and leisure spending is a powerful tool particularly when associated with preserving traditional or indigenous sport and culture. Cultural events and Highland games have shown to be the catalyst for unification, crossing socio-cultural divides (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5), and consequently a very useful tool that could be incorporated into public sector sports event tourism policies. The events are scheduled annually, clustered over a four month peak tourist season and geographically spread across the country (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1), which

makes them highly accessible. The interest in ancestral tourism and genealogy is of growing interest to VisitScotland, suggesting there are 50 million people living outside Scotland claiming Scottish ancestry (Durie, 2013) and is a target market that may find it appealing visit Highland games and experience part of Scottish culture.

The Scottish Government has developed a programme of Focus Years based on unique attributes of Scotland as evidenced by the inaugural Year of Homecoming in 2009 repeated in 2014. This gave national tourist and event agencies the opportunity to promote Scotland's distinctive culture on the world stage and is part of the event strategy championed by the Scottish Government that celebrates distinctive Scottish culture. Highland games are unique, they showcase elements of Scottish culture through indigenous sport, music and dance and, as the findings in this research reveal, appeal to a large sector of tourists who normally reside outside Scotland (see Table 6.6). Attention is drawn to the proportion of international and UK spectators at Highland games where 38% of the audience were UK or international visitors.

Arguably, the most recognisable symbolic element of Highland games is tartan adorned by Highland dancers, pipers and heavy athletes. There is a strong argument that disputes the notion that wearing tartan is purely to satisfy the curiosity of tourists. When competing at Highland games it is mandatory for Highland dancers to wear formal attire, which is Scotland's national dress, for some dances and pipe bands generally wear Highland dress to compete. The appeal of this visual imagery at Highland games promotes a part of Scottish culture through indigenous musical and sporting competition. This may encourage the dispersal of visitors and tourists around the country, to seek out authentic cultural experiences in some of the more remote corners of the country (see Table 6.2 for cultural appeal). The findings in this research highlight the appeal of culture through traditional sport, music and dance where the three most favoured activities at Highland games are bagpipe music, heavy events, and Highland dancing (see Table 6.47).

It can be difficult for self-sustaining community events to attract funding in times of need although can find difficulty accessing public funds (Felsenstein and Fleischer, 2003; Jarvie, 2003a; Ross, 2011). Particularly for small or

community indigenous events that are unlikely to attract public funding when there is minimal academic interest (Whitford and Mair, 2013). The number of events fluctuates, however, there is some concern by the organisers (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3) that there is a lack of public sector support for the games. Should the government provide a financial support network to the SHGA or non-affiliated events to access in times of financial struggle the depletion of the number of events may be reduced

Futilely in 1998 Gibson (1998) proposed an improved policy integration and co-ordination within sport and tourism and associated government organisations. Had this been initiated Highland games may have been better represented rather than suffering from bureaucratic indifference (Ross, 2011). There is perhaps an association with the lack of policy making which has deterred Scotland from building upon its distinct culture (Kerr, 2003). Politicians and tourism leaders remain vacillating in their attitude towards the uncontrived presence of tartan at Highland games. The apologists of tartan acknowledge and celebrate tartan imagery as globally recognised and synonymous with Scotland, whereas the disparagers denigrate the '*tartan cringe and Caledonian clichés'* (see Chapter 2, Section 2.5). The unique nature of Highland games places them between sport and heritage (BBC, 2010). From the viewpoint of the organisers there is little and inconsistent financial support from the public sector (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3).

At present, sport, tourism and culture are retained within three separate government Cabinets which do not facilitate requests for access to funding. Rather than remaining bureaucratically invisible (Ross, 2011) Highland games could be celebrated as part of Scotland's heritage and found a permanent place within central government. This would alleviate the pressure on the volunteer organisers to ensure the numbers of events do not diminish to such an extent that international competitors are dissuaded from travelling to Scotland to compete in *'circuits'*. Based on the substantial numbers of international competitors travelling to Highland games this would reduce considerably the contribution to event tourism income generation (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1).

There is also an impetus to encourage the nation to become more active in a bid to counteract or prevent health issues related to a sedentary lifestyle.

sportscotland is the national agency for sport with a mandate to develop sporting activity and deliver government policies. Although mainly focused on formalised sport within clubs or schools' sporting activities, Highland games are formalised in athletic and sporting competition. It appears that as it is individuals that register to take part rather than athletic or cycling clubs this falls short of the official sportscotland mandate and subsequently no support is offered (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3). Outside the specialist skills required for heavy event athletes or Highland dancing, there are many opportunities for less experienced athletes and children to compete in sport at Highland games (see Chapter 7, Section 7.1 for further discussion).

The very fact that the Scottish Government places Highland games alongside back-hold wrestling and quoiting as minority indigenous sports of Scotland portrays a lack of understanding of the socio-cultural and economic benefits Highland games bring to the country. Recognised by UNESCO (2011), traditional sports form the backbone of communities by bringing people together creating a bridge between cultures for better mutual comprehension. Destinations often use unique cultural selling points to attract international tourists yet, Scotland's policy makers seem determined to avoid including Highland games within any formalised support system or to validate the events within the tourism and event framework strategies developed by the Scottish Government.

Some form of community or organisation of one type or another has successfully been organising and staging events for over 200 years. In the current financially challenging environment it is only the government that can provide some sort of financial stability by recognising and acknowledging the positive impacts Highland games bring to Scotland. In addition, there may be other interested stakeholders that would be willing to provide support if more information on the Highland games was accessible. As well as being a useful document for public sector agencies with an interest in events and tourism, individuals associated with Highland games may also be interested in the findings of this study. However there are those within the population that may be unaware of what Highland games can offer such as athletic or cycling clubs that are not currently associated with Highland games or members of the

community who are not informed or knowledgeable about the variety of activities that they might participate in or watch. Finally, academics with an interest specific to Highland games or related themes discussed in this thesis may find the content of some significance.

8.4 Limitations of the study

It is important to recognise some of the limitations of the study. As there is little existing research to draw on for this study there was a need to undertake substantial data collecting exercises to establish a knowledge base. The intention was to include all existing Highland games in Scotland however, due to the difficulties of identifying every event, four events were found to exist after the research project had been initiated and were unintentionally excluded although this is unlikely to have impacted on the study (see Appendix F).

The initial survey was designed to gather data relating to management issues and spectator attendance. Data was requested for previous years resulting in substantial variances in level of completion of surveys and inconsistent levels of data provision. The inconsistencies in detail did not deter from the emerging key issues although careful consideration for the depth of information would be required for future research projects.

Non-probability convenience sampling of the selected events to conduct the survey and the respondents for the in-depth interviews restricted the views to those selected and may not be representative of all events or organisers. The events take place across four months in the summer with most events scheduled for Saturdays and Sundays. The scheduling results in multiple events taking place on the same days and geographical limitations restricted the number of events that could be included in the survey. Moreover, very remotely located events in the north of Scotland or the Western Isles were not included for logistical reasons. Future research projects could include all Highland games to provide a more robust representative sample of Scotland.

The questionnaire design to collect data at events was restricted in content in order to gather a broad selection of information and may have restricted the category options in questions 17, 18 and 19 (Appendix D) although, as a

starting point a decision was made to include the most common elements. Question 4 may have been problematic for some respondents as the option was for individuals to identify if they are on holiday/pleasure. Although the surveys were completed by the respondents the researchers were on hand to clarify any confusing questions therefore the data collected from question 4 is not considered to have a negative impact on the results.

Restricting the SPSS analysis to univariate and bivariate analysis limits exploration into the depth of relationships and associations between variables although for the purpose of this study it was more important to present the facts as found to establish a knowledge base to build upon in the future.

The lack of previous primary research projects resulted in the data providing mostly categorical information which limited the analysis process in order to set a precedence of exploratory findings. Much of the data was collected as a fact finding exercise using factual details and data as opposed to elaborate statistical inquiry, which was necessary in order to conceptualise the events in the twenty-first century. The breadth and scope of the project ambitiously attempted to cover all known and informed aspects of Highland games which is justified when a subject is under researched and attempting to contextualise the events within Scotland.

Future research will be able to address the limitations encountered in this research project. If the research had been approached with a narrower focus on a specific constituent part of the events it would not have been able to cover the majority of core themes and would have resulted in another partial study of Highland games.

8.4.1 Implications and future research directions

The foundation for further exploration has been established in this research project as a first attempt to conduct a thorough investigation of Highland games in Scotland. Now the evidence base has been established and key issues highlighted the path for future research is more clearly identifiable.

Initial surveys were sent to individual committee members and in-depth interviews were conducted with individuals limiting the data to one person's

perception of a specific event. If the target population was increased to include all committee members across all organising bodies greater insights would be achieved.

Further research across a greater number of events to garner more accurate details of economic and socio-cultural benefits to communities would be a useful addition to this study. A longitudinal research project could explore the economic, social and political impacts that arise from changing political and economic environments and may lead to a better understanding of why, where some games succeed, others fail.

The evidence of increased social integration during the time the events are staged is compelling evidence of VFR activity which could be exploited to add valuable data of travelling patterns and visitation by these elusive travellers. As yet an unexplored area this research has highlighted substantial movement by competitors around Scotland with many references to *'the circuit'* relating to the movement of competitors around the country. This is not limited to one set of competitors but to heavy event athletes, cyclists, Highland dancers, bagpipe musicians and light track and field athletes. The light track and field athletes are the most visibly challenging to identify as they tend to change from competitive attire before and after competing. Exploration of the competitors would provide a stronger argument to support these events which contribute socially and economically to Scotland.

The preferred theoretical framework was social capital in accordance with a number of studies of sports events that successfully used a social capital theoretical base. With a strong cultural theme perhaps future studies may contribute to education and knowledge of community affirmation and social capital building. The opportunities for Scottish residents to socialise were stronger than UK or international residents implying stronger evidence of building social capital.

Evidence of domestic and international event tourism has been found although a focused exploration of motivations for attending would identify if the events were in fact, a major pull factor for visitors and tourists as the primary reason for visitation. Perhaps employing network analysis theory for the organisers and

increasing the content analysis would lead to a wider observation and consideration of the events. Finally, if the Scottish Government is not fully aware of the content and significance of Highland games an interesting study may explore the perceptions of Highland games from non-participants and public sector officials.

APPENDIX A - List of (some) Former Event Locations

Name/Location of Lost Event	Name/Location of Lost Event	Name/Location of Lost Event
Airdrie	Echt	Lochinver
Alexandrian	Falkirk	Logie
Arbroath	Forfar	Lossiemouth
Arnage Castle (Ellon)	Forres	Lumphanan
Auchterarder	Gartmore	Markinch
Auchterlass	Gight	Nairn
Banchory	Glenbuchat	Oxton (Lauder)
Bannockburn	Glenforsa	Paisley
Blackford	Glenrothes	Peterhead
Black Isle	Gourock	Pitlessie
Blairgowrie	Grange (Keith)	Port of Menteith
Buchlyvie	Grangemouth	Sauchie
Buchan	Haddo House	Southend (Campbeltown)
Coatbridge	Inchkeith (Firth of Forth)	Stranraer
Coldstone	Insch	Strathdon
Comrie	Invergarry	Strathmiglo
Cowie	Irvine	Wishaw
Cruden	Kilmartin (Lochgilphead)	Wymes
Culross	Kinlochleven	
Denny	Kircaldy	
Dingwall	Lairg	
Dundee	Lanark	
Durness	Largo (Fife)	

(Source: Airth Committee, 1984; Allan, 1974; Brander, 1992; Burnett, 2000; Jackson, 1998; Jarvie, 2000; Jarvie and Walker, 1994; Keay, 1994; Zarnowski, 2005)

APPENDIX B - LIST OF HIGHLAND GAMES

Month	No.	Highland games
May	1	Gourock Highland Games
	2	Bathgate & West Lothian Highland Games
	3	Blackford Highland Games
	4	Blair Atholl Gathering & Highland Games
June	5	Cornhill Highland Games
	6	Shotts Highland Games
	7	Carrick Lowland Games
	8	Markinch Highland Games
	9	Bearsden & Milngavie Highland Games
	10	Ardrossan Highland Games
	11	Strathmore Highland Games
	12	Lesmahagow Highland Games
	13	Oldmeldrum Sports & Highland Games
	14	City of Aberdeen Highland Games
	15	Ceres Highland Games
	16	Drumtochty Highland Games
July	17	Cupar Highland Games
	18	Kenmore Highland Games
	19	Forres Highland Games
	20	Gairloch Highland Gathering
	21	Glengarry Highland Games
	22	Thornton Highland Gathering
	23	Stirling Highland Games
	24	Alva Highland Games

Month	No.	Highland games
July	25	Loch Lomond Highland Games
	26	Lewis Highland Games
	27	Morvern Highland Games
	28	Glen Moray Elgin Highland Games
	29	Barra Island Highland Games
	30	Rosneath & Clynder Highland Games
	31	Stonehaven Highland Games
	32	Burntisland Highland Games
	33	Inverary Traditional Highland Games
	34	South Uist Games & Piping Society Highland Games
	35	Mull Highland Games
	36	Lochcarron Highland Games
	37	Tomintoul Highland Games
	38	Airth Highland Games
	39	Balquidder, Lochearnhead & Strathyre Highland Games
	40	Inverness Highland Games
	41	Southend Highland Games
	42	Taynuilt Highland Games
	43	Luss (Loch Lomond) Highland Gathering
	44	Arisaig Highland Games
	45	Durness Highland Gathering
	46	Dufftown Highland Games
	47	Halkirk Highland Games
	48	Kilmore & Kilbride Highland Games
	49	Lochaber Highland Games
	51	Callander Highland Games

Month	No.	Highland games			
August	52	St Andrews Highland Games	**August**	75	Cortachy Highland Games
	53	Killin Highland Games		76	Perth Highland Games
	54	The Border Gathering		77	Glenisla Highland Games
	55	Dornoch Highland Gathering		78	Bute Highland Games
	56	Aboyne Highland Games		79	Glenfinnan Highland Games
	57	Brodick Highland Games		80	Helmsdale & District Highland Games
	58	Dundonald Games		81	Nairn Highland Games
	59	Inverkeithing Highland Games		82	Crieff Highland Games
	60	Royal British Legion Mey Highland Games		83	Argyllshire (Oban) Highland Gathering
	61	Newtonmore Highland Games		84	Glenurquhart Highland Gathering
	62	North Berwick Highland Games		85	Invergordon Highland Gathering
	63	Aviemore Highland Games		86	Lonach Highland Gathering
	64	Bridge of Allan Highland Games		87	Strathardle highland Gathering
	65	Mallaig & Morar Highland Games		88	Cowal Highland Gathering
	66	Montrose Highland Games		89	Birnam Highland Games
	67	Isle of Skye Highland Games		90	Grantown-on-Spey Highland Games
	68	Ballater Highland Games		91	The Braemar Gathering
	69	Tain Highland Gathering			
	70	Assynt Highland Gathering	**Sept**	92	Blairgowrie Highland Games
	71	Abernethy Highland Games		93	Pitlochry Highland Games
	72	Atholl and Breadalbane Highland Gathering		94	Peebles Highland Games
	73	Strathpeffer Highland Gathering		95	Invercharron Highland Games
	74	Caithness Highland Gathering			

APPENDIX C - Phase 1 Survey

SCOTTISH HIGHLAND GAMES - SURVEY **Lochearnhead Highland Games**

This survey should take no longer than15-20 minutes to complete. All sources of information will remain confidential and I thank you in advance for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Please tick the appropriate boxes as required, delete YES/NO as required, write N/A for not applicable where relevant, and write in the space provided for other responses or additional information.

1. When were these games established? _____ What anniversary will it be in 2007? _____
2. Are the Games a: Limited Company ☐ Friends Association ☐ Committee ☐
3. Other **(please specify)** _____
4. What is the structure of the committee/organisation?

5. Are all these positions filled by different people? YES/NO
6. How many people are there in the organising committee? _____
7. How many of the organising committee are volunteers? _____
8. How many volunteers assist on the actual day of the games including committee members? _____
9. Does your committee organise more than one Highland Games/Gathering? YES/NO
10. If yes, state the names of these other games below.

11. What were the admission prices at the gate in 2006?

    Adult_____Child_____Senior_____Student_____Family_____

12. **Please write the amount in the space provided. If information is unavailable for years prior to 2006 please complete figures for 2006 only. Approximation of numbers will be appreciated if exact figures are unknown.**

	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002
What was the total number of gate admissions?					
What was the total admissions revenue taken?					
What was the total number of all competitors?					
What was the total amount of competitor revenue taken?					

13. What was the total number of **overseas** competitors in 2006? **(Write total number if known)**

    none ☐ 1-5 ☐ 6-10 ☐ 11-15 ☐ 16-20 ☐ more ☐

1 of 2

(Source: author)

14. What was the total budget for the games in 2006? _____

15. Does the games receive financial support from the local council or any other public agency? YES/NO

16. How many sponsors contribute to the games? None. ☐ Number _____

17. If yes, is this sponsorship critical to the success/continuing of the Games? YES/NO

18. Name/s of Sponsor/s **(if applicable)**

19. What is the total amount of sponsorship donated? _____

20. Is the site where the event takes place: Owned by the Games ☐ Paid for ☐ Donated ☐

If the site is donated, who donates the field? _____

21. Once sufficient profit is re-invested in the Games, what happens to any extra monies **eg donated to charity, local community projects, reserve fund etc?**

22. Where do your spectators come from? **Please tick all relevant boxes**

Local Area ☐ Regional Area ☐ Scotland ☐
Britain ☐ International ☐

23. What percentage of the spectators would you allocate to each of the groups?

Local Area _____ Regional Area _____ Scotland _____
Britain _____ International _____

24. In your opinion, do most of your visitors: **Please tick one box only**

Come to the area for the duration of the Games only ☐

Spend more than one day in the area ☐

25. Is there collaboration between regional games organisers to avoid local games being on the same day? YES/NO

COMMENT

26. Do you have archive material that I may gain access to? YES/NO

27. Do you have brochures/programmes that I may gain access to? YES/NO

28. Would you be willing to co-operate in further research? YES/NO

Thank you once again for your time and effort taken to complete this questionnaire. Please place the completed questionnaire in the pre-paid envelope provided and return by 29 January 2007.

2 of 2

APPENDIX D - Phase 2 Survey

Highland Games Survey 2007

The purpose of this survey is to collect information about why people choose to visit Highland Games in Scotland and the main reasons for their visit. The information will be compiled to provide an overview of Highland Games in Scotland. Your answers will remain anonymous and the survey should take approximately 5 minutes to complete. I thank you in advance for taking the time to complete the survey.

Please circle responses as required, write in the space provided for other answers. Tick only one box unless otherwise stated.

Your visit here today

1. Where have you come from today?

_____

2. Is that your home or are you on holiday?

_____

3. What is your normal country of residence?

_____

4. What is the main reason for your visit to the area today?

Live locally ☐ Holiday/pleasure ☐
Visiting friends and relatives ☐ Coach Tour ☐
Member of the party competing ☐ Business/work ☐

Other (eg competitor)_____

5. Are you.....

On a day trip ☐
Staying more than one day in the area ☐

6. Were you aware of **today's** games before coming here today?

Yes **Go to Q8** No **Go to Q7**

7. What was the main reason you decided to come to these Highland Games today? **Tick only one box**

Heard piping/music – saw people in highland dress ☐
Saw signage, banner or poster ☐
On the way to another destination/passing by ☐
In the area looking for something to do ☐
Brought by friends/relatives ☐

Other_____

8. How did you first find out about **today's** Games? (eg Internet, Accommodation, Tourist Information Centre, previous visit)

_____

9. Do you often come to the Highland Games which take place here?

First time Sometimes

Frequently Every year

Your visit to Highland Games

10. Is this your first visit to a Highland Games event in Scotland?

Yes No

11. How many Highland Games do you intend to visit in Scotland this summer?

Only here	2 - 3	4 - 5	6 or more	Unsure

12. Will you go to Highland Games outside Scotland this year?

Yes No Unsure

a) If yes, where_____

_____

b) Approximately how many games outside Scotland will you visit?

_____

Continued overleaf

(Source: author)

13. Who is accompanying you today?

Partner	☐	Family with children under 16	☐
Coach Party	☐	Family group with no children	☐
Friend/s	☐	Other organised group	☐
Competitor/s	☐	No-one	☐

15. How many people accompanying you are competing?

None	1	2 – 3	4 – 5	More	Unsure	N/A

Opinion of visit

16. How long do you think you will spend her e today?

Couple of hours Half day Full day

17. In your opinion which of the following **best** describes this event? **Please tick only one**

Traditional/heritage event	☐
Tourist attraction	☐
Community event	☐
Sporting event	☐
Social gathering	☐

Other_____

18. What factors (would) affect your choice when attending a Highland Games? **Rate each the following in level of importance by ticking one box on each row**

1 – Very important
2 – Quite important
3 – No opinion
4 – Not really important
5 – Not at all important

	1	2	3	4	5
Previous experience					
Scenery and landscape					
Price					
Experience, tradition and heritage					
Being able to watch a variety of sports					
Ease of travel to destination					
Opportunity to socialise					

19. **Please number your top four attractions at Highland Games 1, 2, 3 or 4 where number one is your top favourite. Choose only four**

Highland Dancing		Athletics/Light field events	
Heavy Events (eg tossing the caber)		Wrestling	
Piping/Pipe Bands		Competing	
Trade stands/shops		Tradition/heritage	
Meet people/socialise		Drink/beer tent	
Cycling		Novelty Races/Events	
Championship event taking place		Tug o' War	
Other			

Respondent details

20. Are you.... Male Female

21. Which of these age groups are you in?

16 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 +

22. Are you in.....

Full time paid work	☐	Part-time paid work	☐
Full time home/child care	☐	Full time education	☐
Retired	☐	Unemployed	☐
Part-time education	☐	Other	☐

23. What is your occupation – please state exact nature of your work (eg engineer – civil, structural)

_____

Additional Comments

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation

APPENDIX E - Phase 3 Survey

Below can be found key question themes that guided the in-depth interviews? The questions for the semi-structured interviews addressed the following themes.

1. Do the games have a community focus or the intention to appeal to a wider audience base?

2. What is the level of competitive activity?

3. What is the extent of overseas competitive activity?

4. Can you provide information pertaining to the committee members and activities?

5. How are new members recruited?

6. What are the benefits of the SHGA to Highland games?

7. What processes do the committee undertake to secure or source extra finance?

8. What level of support has this event encountered from central government or local authority?

9. What are the main challenges facing the sustainability of Highland games?

10. In your opinion, how long is this event likely to continue on the occasion the event is cancelled in two consecutive years?

APPENDIX F- List of events in 2015

Month	2015	Highland Games/Gathering (see Figure 5.1)
May	1	Gourock Highland Games
Map no.1	2	Gordon Castle Highland Games and Country Fair
	3	The Atholl Gathering and Highland Games
	4	Aberdeen Highland Games
	5	Bathgate & West Lothian Highland Games
	6	Blackford Highland Games
Map no. 2	7	Carmunnock Highland Games
June		
Map no. 10	8	Dunbeath Highland Games
	9	Cornhill Highland Games
	10	Shotts Highland Games
Map no. 3	11	Helensburgh & Lomond Highland Games
	12	Carrick Lowland Games
	13	Markinch Highland Games
	14	Cupar Highland Games
	15	Bearsden & Milngavie Highland Games
	16	Ardrossan Highland G0ames
	17	Strathmore Highland Games
	18	Lesmahagow Highland Games
	19	OldMeldrum Sports & Highland Games
Map no. 4	20	Newburgh Highland Games
	21	Aberdeen Highland Games
	22	Ceres Highland Games
	23	Drumtochty Highland Games
Map no. 5	24	Lorne Highland Games
July		
Map no. 11		Kinlochard Gathering
	25	Kenmore Highland Games
	26	Forres Highland Games
	27	Gairloch Highland Gathering
	28	Luss Highland Games
	29	Thornton Highland Gathering
	30	Glengarry Highland Games
Map no.6	31	Braemar Junior Highland Games
	32	Alva Highland Games

Month	2015	Highland Games/Gathering (see Figure 5.1)
	33	Morvern Highland Games
	34	Taynuilt Highland Games
	35	Loch Lomond Highland Gathering and Games
	36	Lochcarron Highland Games
	37	Inverness Highland Games
	38	Tomintoul Highland Games
	39	Rosneath Peninsula Highland Gathering
	40	Stonehaven Highland Games
		Lewis Highland Games
		Glen Moray Elgin Highland Games
		Barra Island Highland Games
	41	Burntisland Highland Games
	42	Inverary Traditional Highland Games
	43	South Uist Highland Games
	44	Mull Highland Games
Map no. 7	45	North Uist Highland Games
	46	Southend Highland Games
	47	Strathconon Highland Games
	48	Arisaig Highland Games
	49	Inverary Highland Games
	50	Kilmore & Kilbride Highland Games
	51	Lochaber Highland Games (TBC)
	52	Durness Highland Gathering
	53	Airth Highland Games
	54	Balquidder, Lochearnhead & Strathyre Highland Games
	55	Dufftown Highland Games
	56	Halkirk Highland Games
	57	St Andrews Highland Games
		Callander Highland Games
August	58	Mey Highland Games
	59	Aboyne Highland Games
Map no. 8	60	The Aberlour Strathspey Highland Games
	61	Newtonmore Highland Games
	62	Bridge of Allan Highland Games
	63	Mallaig & Morar Highland Games
	64	Isle of Skye Highland Games
	65	Killin Highland Games
	66	Dornoch Highland Gathering

Month	2015	Highland Games/Gathering (see Figure 5.1)
	67	Abernethy Highland Games
	68	Brodick Highland Games
	69	Dundonald Games
	70	Atholl and Breadalbane Highland Gathering
	71	Inverkeithing Highland Games
	72	North Berwick Highland Games
	73	Strathpeffer Highland Gathering
	74	Perth Highland Games
		The Border Gathering
	75	Ballater Highland Games
	76	Tain Highland Gathering
	77	Assynt Highland Games
	78	Stirling Highland Games
	79	Glenfinnan Highland Games
	80	Nairn Highland Games
	81	Helmsdale & District Highland Games
Map no. 9	82	Rannoch Highland Gathering
	83	Cortachy Highland Games
	84	Crieff Highland Gathering
		Aviemore Highland Games
		Montrose Highland Games
		Caithness Highland Gathering
	85	Glenisla Highland Games
	86	Invergordon Highland Gathering
	87	Lonach Highland Gathering and Games
	88	Strathardle Highland Gathering & Agricultural Show
	89	Glenurquhart Highland Gathering
	90	Grantown-on-Spey Highland Games
	91	Bute Highland Games
	92	The Argyllshire Gathering, Oban Games
	93	Cowal Highland Gathering
	94	Birnam Highland Games

September	95	The Braemar Gathering
	96	Peebles Highland Games
	97	Blairgowrie & Rattray Highland Games
	98	Pitlochry Highland Games
	99	Invercharron Highland Games

Events missed from this study (see Figure 5.1)
Carmunnock Highland Games
Kinlochard Gathering
North Uist Highland Games
Rannoch Highland Gathering
New events, or events that have been re-instated in 2015 (see Figure 5.1)
Gordon Castle Highland Games and Country Fair
Helensburgh & Lomond Highland Games
Newburgh Highland Games
Lorne Highland Games
Braemar Junior Highland Games
Aberlour Strathspey Highland Games
Previous events that are not operating in 2015 (see Figure 5.1)
Lewis Highland Games
Glen Moray Elgin highland Games
Barra Island Highland Games
Callander Highland Games
The Border Gathering
Aviemore Highland Games
Montrose Highland Games
Caithness Highland Gathering

(Source: author)

APPENDIX G - Normal Country Of Residence

Country	Number of respondents
Scotland	768
England	206
USA	59
Canada	33
Australia	27
Germany	52
Italy	4
Spain	15
France	13
Netherlands	27
Portugal	1
Switzerland	11
New Zealand	13
Wales	4
Northern Ireland	8
Norway	6
Canary Islands	1
Sweden	6
Eire	6
Tajikistan	1
Austria	6
Denmark	8
Belgium	11

Country	Number of respondents
Russia	1
South Africa	3
Finland	2
Slovakia	2
Argentina	1
Venezuela	1
Czechoslovakia	1
Brazil	1
Bahamas	1
Turkey	1
Poland	1
Qatar	1
Korea	1
Singapore	1
Belarus	1
Hungary	1
Japan	2
Zimbabwe	1
India	2
Malaysia	1
China	3
Luxembourg	1
Total	1,316

(Source: author)

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